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IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
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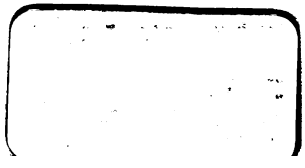
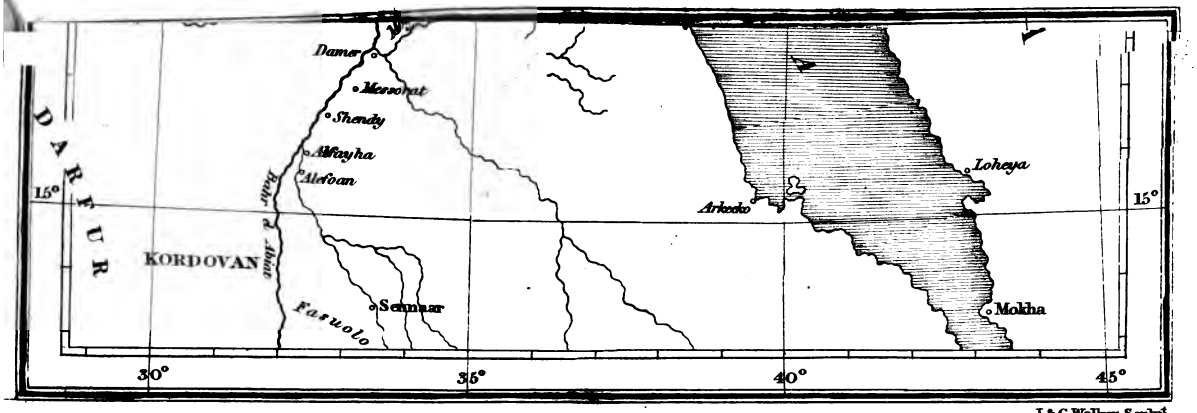


ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI.

241



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NARRATIVE

OF THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI,

NATIVE OF FERRARA;

WHO, UNDER THE ASSUMED NAME OF MAHOMET,
MADE THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST
THE WAHABEES FOR THE RECOVERY OF MECCA AND MEDINA;

AND

SINCE ACTED AS INTERPRETER
TO EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN SOME OF THE PARTS
LEAST VISITED OF ASIA AND AFRICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN' AS DICTATED BY HIMSELF,

AND EDITED BY

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, Esq.

TWO VOLUMES.

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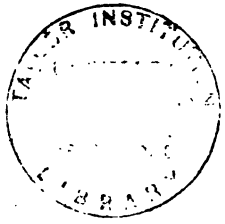

TO

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, Esq.

HIS

ATTACHED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

HADJEE MAHOMET.

November, 1826.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE author of this little narrative has given in it so circumstantial an account of himself, that there seems to be no occasion for my saying anything, in order to make the reader better acquainted with him. But it may be satisfactory to state, that, as I bore part myself in a considerable portion of the travels, and in many of the incidents which he relates, I can give testimony so far to his truth and fidelity; and therefore feel little

doubt that those gentlemen whom he speaks of having accompanied in other journies and adventures will find him equally accurate, where those are described. Of the remainder, I can recollect to have heard long ago from his own mouth, during the period that he was with me, many of the most remarkable particulars, detailed just in the manner here given: and, whilst I cannot but feel surprised at his memory, which was never assisted by a reference to any book, or consultation of any map whatever, for the purpose of refreshing it, it affords a strong proof of its correctness, that, upon a comparison

of his account of the Wahabee war with that of Monsieur Mengin (which, though rather a dry work*, seems to have been compiled with great industry at Cairo), only such occasional variations in circumstances and details will be found, as might be expected between the personal recollections of an eye-witness, and a chronicle collected and digested from various sources; the principal events, and the order of them, as well geographically as in point of time, being

* Published at Paris 1823, entitled "l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mahomet Ali," 2 vols., 8vo. The author, Monsieur Mengin, had remained in that country from the time of the French Expedition, as appears by his preface.

for the most part the same in both, so that they materially confirm one another, taking only into account, in the names of places, the widely different spelling between a Frenchman and an Italian. An equally satisfactory concurrence is the general result of confronting the description here given of Mecca with that of Ali Bey*;

* Ali Bey was a Spaniard from Catalonia, of the name of Badia: I found some particulars among his original papers, to which I had access at Constantinople, which induced me to suspect him to have been secretly brought up as a Jew, but I have in my possession authentic proof of his having been employed by the French government as a spy, in the original draught in his own handwriting of a memorial to Bonaparte, reciting his services and claiming his reward. His papers prove him to have been a man of indefatigable

the trifling points of ceremonial which do not exactly coincide being doubt-

industry, but of very little previous knowledge; and I have heard from those who conversed with him in the East, that he spoke Arabic very imperfectly. Of his want of historical information the reader will form a judgment when he sees that in page 300 of Vol. i., he evidently supposes Catherine II. to have been widow of Peter the Great! Ali Bey returned into the East a short time before I quitted it, with the intention of penetrating in some new direction from Damascus, but there or in that neighbourhood died soon afterwards, as it was thought, by poison.

It is not from any preference to these two writers, above many others, that I have compared and cited them, but because they write about the same countries and often about the very same persons and events near the same period. I have pointed out where they differ from our author;—Ali Bey seems to have been a man of more industry than intelligence, and more vanity than either; and Mengin had certainly opportunities of being better informed than

less ascribable to the temporary ascendant there of the Wahabees, at the period of Ali Bey's visit. With witnesses so unexceptionable, therefore, in its favour, we are entitled to consider the veracity of the narrative established beyond all dispute.

It was the recollection of those anecdotes which I had heard from him, coupled with the agreeable retrospect

he seems to have been upon some points, as will appear here and there in the notes.

Had Burckhardt's details respecting Mecca been published at the time when I was occupied with the fifth chapter, I should certainly have preferred his authority to Ali Bey's, both from the higher qualifications of the writer, and because there is a still closer coincidence in point of time.

of what we had seen together, that made me think such a memoir might prove interesting, and first induced me to suggest it to him, in this country. His long disuse, however, of European writing (an accomplishment in which he had, perhaps, never been a brilliant proficient) had made him very slow with his pen, and rendered it probable that he would soon abandon the attempt, if he took the whole labour upon himself, which was my motive for recommending that he should rather dictate, than endeavour to put his story to paper with his own hand, an expedient likely also to lead to a

simpler and more natural form of narration. By good fortune, he met with a person in London who seems to have been well qualified for the task, and brought the whole to me within a few weeks, contained in twelve little copy-books, of which the style in the original is easy and unaffected, and (so far as I can venture to judge in a foreign language) the Italian not inelegant.

I had never seen the work during its progress, but found so much amusement in reading it, and apparently so few errors, that I promised to undertake the translation, and to prepare it for the press.

But as the time fixed for his departure from England would not admit of the whole being completed, I applied myself, in the first instance, to the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books, (or chapters, as I have called them,) and read them over to him in English, so that those have the benefit of his corrections: for I felt that there would be much less risk of misapprehension or mistake in others, where the facts and geography are familiar to me, than in those where I was quite a stranger, and which I was yet the more anxious to render accurately in all the details of circumstance and place, from consi-

dering the whole account of the war contained in them as one of the most curious portions of his history. Several of the other chapters were also nearly finished before he set out, and he had read over the whole to me in the original, that I might take down, from his mouth, such explanations as seemed necessary; and his answers to such queries as I had already noted, where the sense was obscure, or where by transposition the narrative might be improved.

These variations are incorporated into the text, and, at my recommendation also, some passages that

seemed a little tedious were abridged, and here and there some few expressions relating to myself, which it might give him pleasure to employ, but which it would not become me to render, I have wholly omitted.

In the remainder, I have endeavoured generally to follow the Italian as closely as possible, giving, however, to his geographical recollections, in those countries which we traversed together, the full benefit of a collation with my journals made on the spot, and adding a few notes wherever they suggested themselves as necessary.

The work itself, from its very varied nature, can hardly fail to prove entertaining, even to the general reader, but will have a yet higher value with those who are curious in oriental manners, and in modern oriental history, as containing some details nowhere else to be met with, at least in our language, and on the testimony of an eye-witness: as of the massacre of the Mamelukes by Mahomet Ali, and of his expeditions against the fanatic puritans of Arabia, and into the upper country beyond Dongola. In geography not a little will be found that is new and interesting, for, though

no scientific accounts must be expected, but only such as a plain man of sense and observation can give, yet when it is seen that he made the circuit of the Dead Sea; that he penetrated to the great Oasis; that he accompanied Monsieur Linant in his search for the ancient Meroë, and beyond Sennaar; that he has reached or passed the second cataract of the Nile seven several times; that he has visited both Mecca and Medina, and places lower down to the very borders of Yemen, and Jerusalem frequently; that Petra, and Palmyra, and all the country beyond Jordan, are among the scenes of his narra-

tive,—it will be admitted that he has been a traveller to no ordinary extent; and, possibly, that there is not any one living who has seen altogether so much. But it is at this peculiar time, when the attention and curiosity of all Europe is particularly directed towards the East, that the details of Mahommedan warfare, and the life of a soldier in the Mahommedan service, may seem to acquire a sort of political, as well as historical interest.

It only remains for me to mention that, after a stay of about two years in this country, the author, prompted

by that cheerful and lively, but rather restless, temper, which will, I think, be discerned in his work, returned to seek fresh adventures in the East, with Lord Prudhoe, who has engaged him during his travels as his interpreter.

1828.

POSTSCRIPT, 1829.

LORD PRUDHOE, upon his return to this country, after a most interesting and extensive tour in the East, has left Mahomet once more established at Cairo; and should the steam navigation to and from India by the Red Sea produce those facilities of intercourse that have been expected, it has been recommended to him to establish and superintend a small hotel for the accommodation of European passengers.

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THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI.

CHAPTER I.

The Author's Parentage—Education—Conscription—First and Second Desertion—Recapture—Imprisonment—Voyage to Dalmatia—Sea Storm—the Montenegrini—Flight into Albania, and Adventures there—Embarkation—and Passage to Alexandria.

THE lives of some men, neither distinguished for worldly advantages, nor eminent talents, may yet, from singular turns of fortune, and by the association of remarkable places and events with their

7

story, supply such a field of amusement, and even instruction, as can hardly be looked for in those of a more uniform tenor.

My own life may perhaps appear to be of this number. In publishing it to the world, let me hope that I shall not be suspected of assuming to myself any of the requisite qualifications of an author, beyond that of speaking the truth: what has happened to myself, and what I have seen with my own eyes, that I shall endeavour to relate; but am fully aware that the same incidents, and the same scenes, had they fallen in the way of one possessed of more knowledge and information than I am, might have furnished a work of a very different description from any that I can pretend to offer.

My name is Giovanni Finati; I was born a subject of the pontifical states, at Ferrara, not indeed of rich, but of respectable, parents; my father had a small landed property with a house upon it, at Zello, on the river Tartaro; and he had another house belonging to him at Trecenta, so that his income was sufficient for the decent maintenance of a limited family. He was tenderly attached to my mother, and I was the eldest of their four children.

I will take up no further time in enlarging upon family details, but pass at once to what concerns myself and my own adventures.

So soon as I was ten years old, my parents decided upon the profession which I was to follow, and did this, as is but too often the case, without looking at all to the

bent of my natural disposition or inclinations.

For I had an uncle, my father's brother, who was in the church, a very sincere and excellent man, but extremely bigoted; and, as it was decided that I should be trained up to the same vocation, I was in a manner made over to him, and my education committed entirely to his care. It was to no purpose that I had conceived, from my very earliest years, the strongest repugnance to that mode of life, and to the society and habits of priests and ecclesiastics of all sorts, since those who had the control over me remaining fixed in their determination, there was no help for it, and I could do no otherwise than submit; yet my distaste was every day increased by the pains that my uncle bestowed to

instruct me in all that course of frivolous and empty ceremonials and mysteries, which form a principal feature in the training up of a priest for the Romish church.

All the powers of entreaty were ex hausted; I saw no hope of escape, and finding that severity and punishment were all that I gained by resistance, I passed several years in a sort of sullen conformity to my uncle's wishes.

At last, just as I had completed my eighteenth year, a very different scene of life unexpectedly opened upon me.

Italy * had fallen into the power of the

* Sir Walter Scott says, "The northern states of Italy had followed the example of France through all her change of models: they had become republican in a directorial form, when Napoleon's sword conquered them from the Austrians; had changed to an establishment

French, for though it was still nominally independent, and retained the form of a government of its own, yet it was in fact become no better than a province.

The people felt most acutely both the weight and the humiliation of this foreign yoke, yet at the same time saw that they had no power of shaking it off. In no point did it press upon them more heavily than in the continual conscriptions, for no sooner was a son grown to be of an age to assist his parents, and to contribute to their support, than he was forcibly torn from them, and sent off into the most distant countries, at the will of Buonaparte,

similar to the consular, when that was instituted in Paris."—*Life of Buonaparte*, vol. 5. The beginning of 1805 seems to be the period referred to: it cannot possibly be later than April, since Napoleon was crowned king of Italy in that month.

who now reigned as master over almost all Europe.

My father and mother, who were people of domestic and devout habits, received with horror the intelligence that my name appeared in the list of conscripts: there seemed to be an end at once of that religious scheme of life which they had been laying out for me from my infancy, and I was, in all human probability, to be lost to them for ever; they pictured to themselves and to me all the miseries, and dangers, and disasters to which I should be exposed, and determined, therefore, on making any sacrifices in order to keep me at home.

No representation was left untried with those in authority, but none was sufficient to get me exempted.

At last, the utmost that could be obtained, was, that I might be permitted to provide a substitute; but even to this was annexed the condition, that in case of his desertion, I must again come forward, and make good his place in the ranks.

My father found means to pay the price that was required, and was well content to retain me upon those terms; but from that time he never ceased urging me to think seriously of entering at once upon that profession which he had chalked out for me, and which would furnish the only exemption from a continual liability to the calls of this conscript army.

Though I felt in me but little disposition or calling towards that way of life which he so fervently pressed upon me, yet I entertained his propositions, at least to

appearance, lest I should seem to be ungrateful for his kindness.

The substitute was provided, and marched off so soon as required by his regiment, and I remained quietly in the bosom of my family, always, however, under the strict superintendence of my uncle, the priest.

Five months were soon passed; and we were now far advanced into the year 1805, when the news came, that the substitute who had been provided in my stead had deserted.

This was a terrible blow to my poor father, and I could read at once in his eyes that he looked upon me from that moment as on a child that was lost to him for ever.

No sooner was the fact certified to the military commandant, than the regular warrant under the conscription was issued against me, and the most diligent search commenced; but I was nowhere to be found; for, feeling an abhorrence to this compulsory mode of service, I had, by my father's wish and connivance, on the very first intimation, withdrawn secretly from the house, and was lurking in different hiding-places of the neighbourhood, both day and night.

When the government saw that all attempts to find me were ineffectual, measures were taken for driving my family, by persecution, to deliver me up.

The first which was resorted to, was the quartering of troops upon our house,

whose number was augmented every day, for the purpose of completely exhausting it, and reducing it to poverty.

But my father's firmness was such, that he submitted to this without a murmur, thinking that the government might be wearied out, and would, perhaps, desist, when the means were found to fail of their object; but he was mistaken, and exasperation was the only consequence.

Accordingly, my father and my younger brother were seized, and thrown into prison, where they were debarred from all communication; the property was confiscated; and I thus saw the utter ruin of my whole family was become inevitable, if I did not, of my own act, go and deliver myself up to the authorities.

Besides the call of duty, which seemed

in this case to be imperative upon me, two considerations served a little to confirm and console me in taking the step; the one, that if I disliked the profession (under the circumstances) in which I was about to embark, I disliked equally, at least, if not more, that which had been designed for me at home, and which I could no longer in decency or in gratitude have declined; and then again, as I was going to serve by compulsion, I should feel bound to that service by no ties of honour or conscience, and who could say how soon some opportunity for desertion and escape might not present itself?

These several reflections and motives had all of them their weight with me in turn, and I therefore made up my mind to a voluntary surrender.

My appearance had the immediate effect

of setting free my father and brother, and of releasing the property from sequestration.

I myself was sent to the military depôt, with the strictest orders that no intercourse or communication should be permitted with my family; and after five days of close confinement there, was marched off with the other fresh conscripts, without being even indulged with the melancholy satisfaction of a farewell.

Our destination was for Milan, where we were to be trained and exercised, and I suffered severely during the first days of this march, having been from my childhood but very little accustomed to fatigue and hardship; but being young and naturally active, I afterwards found little difficulty in learning the duties of a soldier, the drill

to which the recruits were subjected proving hardly so severe at first as I had expected. I belonged to a division of the army which was manœuvred and inspected once in every week, on a large open space at the distance of little less than ten Italian miles, and the arms and accoutrements which we were obliged to carry with us weighed seventy-two pounds: this was fatiguing, but I got accustomed to it, as a man becomes inured to almost any thing by habit; but the nature of the life itself was so irksome and intolerable to me, that I was never looking forward to anything else than to the moment which I should seize for withdrawing myself from it.

The year 1806 was drawing towards its close, when we received orders to march for the Tyrol, and we obeyed our instruc-

tions with so much promptitude and diligence, that, by continual forced marches, we very soon reached the place named in our instructions.

Here our corps took up its quarters for some time; and as we were in a new and intricate country, I thought the opportunity a good one for effecting my desertion, which I did, not without having turned it over and over in my mind, but yet without having formed any settled ulterior plan. This was in the last week of that year.

No sooner had I taken the step, than I found that there was neither place nor person that I could trust by the way; my uniform was in itself proof sufficient that I was a deserter, and I was in constant apprehension of falling into the hands of those who would be searching after me:

this made it impossible for me to shew myself by day, but all my nights were passed in traversing the deep forests and wilds of that country.

In the dead of the last of many such nights, I found myself arrived once more within the limits of the Ferrarese territory: where the thoughts of being so near to my native home, and to the kind authors of my being, affected me more than I can express, and I never rested till I found them.

They had been in great grief and perplexity at receiving no tidings from me; and now, upon our meeting, loaded me with every mark of the tenderest affection.

I remained quietly with them some days without the fact of my desertion being known to any body; but so soon as the official intelligence of it was received, it

became once more my fate to witness the sufferings and persecutions of my family upon my account. The confiscation was renewed, and my younger brother was peremptorily required to be sent to serve in my room: so that everything connected with me, and dearest to me, was thrown into a state of the greatest misery.

I was sorry now for my rashness, though the consequences of a second desertion were so serious that I durst not come forward, but took the utmost pains to elude detection. I concealed myself in places the least frequented of the country round, sometimes lying in the sheepfolds and outhouses, with the animals and cattle, and sometimes in ditches and holes in the earth; so that a life of wretchedness and privation was all that I had gained by my escape.

Time, which discovers everything, at last brought to light the place where I was lurking; and there, some soldiers, sent for the purpose, suddenly laid hands on me, and made me their prisoner. I was become an object of the utmost military rigour, and, with handcuffs upon me, was dragged or driven through the streets of my native town, where I had been brought up and had lived so respectably, and to which I had returned but so few days before with such feelings of eagerness and attachment.

As soon as my apprehension became known, my father, mother, brother, and sisters, all in the deepest affliction, came to the prison where I was lodged, and filled it with lamentations and regrets. My poor mother, seeing that all hope of having me

with her any more was at an end, threw herself on my neck, bathing it with tears, and praying fervently at the same time to the Almighty that he would at least preserve me for better days,—while it was plain, both from her words and looks, how fully she was aware that my offence was now capital.

All that day was passed as miserably as it is possible to conceive, being but one protracted scene of parting; and afterwards, when I was left alone at night, my own feelings and fears returned upon me with fresh bitterness.

On the next morning I was to set out under an escort for Milan; whither twenty-two other deserters were dragged besides myself, coupled two and two—a cheerless company, and exposed to every taunt and

menace by the way that was best calculated to increase our terror. Every night we were lodged in the common gaol of the town where we halted; and so, after a march of much suffering and wretchedness, we arrived at our first destination, where we were kept close prisoners, and within a few days sent off again, each to the division of the army to which he respectively belonged. The regiment from which I had deserted was now at Venice, and accordingly that was the point to which I was despatched; and never shall I forget the dreadful state of suspense under which I made that whole journey, with a mind continually filled with the most awful forebodings. Indeed I can hardly say what it was that supported me, harassed thus at once both in body and mind; but I have always felt a natural

sort of elasticity of spirit, which is a great blessing under all circumstances, and which I have never had more occasion for than during the dismal march of which I am now speaking.

It must have been in the year 1807 that I reached Venice, where it so happened that Buonaparte himself, now King of Italy, was at that time *; and it was, as I believe, owing entirely to this circumstance that my worst forebodings were not realized, and that my life was spared: a sort of general act of grace (so far as commutation of punishment) being considered a compliment due to the sovereign's presence, that no execution might seem to

* Bourrienne says, Duroc gave him an account "d'une voyage qu'avait fait Napoléon vers le milieu de Novembre, 1807, pour visiter l'état de Venise," &c.: his stay, however, must have been very short in that city.

damp the general festivity; so that I was not subjected to the utmost rigours of military law, as I should otherwise have been.

This seemed to me almost a transition from death to life, and I have looked back ever since to that epoch as to a kind of second birthday.

It must not, however, be inferred that I escaped punishment altogether, for, on the contrary, it was immediate, though mitigated so far as life was concerned. Early in the morning, all the regiment to which I belonged was paraded; and after my head had been shaven close, in sight of them all, a particular dress, much like those which common convicts wear, was put upon me, and I was loaded, not with heavy chains only, but with a great weight also attached to them, which I was com-

pelled to drag behind, as I was goaded in derision by the subaltern officers along the line, from whence I was conducted back, with every mark of contempt and disgrace, to the barracks, and directed to be lodged there for two months in strict confinement, without being once suffered to move out of them; and during all that time there was no office, the meanest and most laborious, that was not thrown upon me, as matter of punishment and degradation.

Meanwhile, Buonaparte had long since been called away to a distance; but orders were, in due course of time, received from him, that all the forces now in Venice should, without delay, be embarked for Dalmatia, and the point fixed on for their destination was Spalatro*, upon the con-

* The name of Spalătro (so famous for the retirement

fines of the petty republic of Ragusa, which was at this period groaning under the oppression and extortions of the celebrated General Marmont, who commanded there, and was exacting the unwilling homage of what remained of that little fallen state.

My regiment was to be embarked among the rest, and we had but a short time allowed for getting ourselves in readiness.

of Dioclesian, and for the ruins of his palace) is pronounced short in the second syllable; and though this may seem contrary both to the sonorous march of the Italian language, and to the quantity of the original Latin name, yet two other examples, exactly analogous, are presented upon the Italian shores of the Adriatic, in the names of Tarănto and Otrănto, both so pronounced. Horace Walpole has told us that he selected the latter name for his romance only from seeing it upon the map; and as he adopted it rather by the eye than by the ear, it may reasonably be suspected that he would not have chosen it had he been aware how it is pronounced on the spot.

There was just then a great deal of sickness amongst us; and, owing to the paucity of the transports, and the multitude of the troops which was to be conveyed in them, nothing could exceed the state of inconvenience and confinement to which we were subjected on board.

This was the first time that I had ever been at sea in my life, and I underwent my full share of the torment of sea-sickness, so as to find myself extremely weak and reduced from it.

The vessel in which I was, touched at an island of Dalmatia to procure water, the great consumption on board having already exhausted all the stock brought with us from Venice. I felt comforted by the sight of land, and, dreary as this place was, and without any sign of an inhabitant,

was in that disposition of mind to have thought myself happy, had it only been permitted to me to fix and to finish my days there.

Several of my comrades seem to have yielded to some impulse of the sort, for they went on shore on the pretext of assisting the crew in the provision of water, and never returned to us; it is probable that they may have found some means of making their way from thence to Trieste, and so entering into the Austrian service.

I myself felt strongly the temptation of seeking the same adventure, not from any particular zeal for the German cause, but because it appeared to me that I might lead a life of less disquiet and hardship in that service, than in this restless and conscript army.

The attempt, however, was for the present quite impossible upon my part, my strength being so reduced that I could not even hold myself upright; I remained therefore on board.

This island is situated not far from Rovigno, on the north-western side of the small gulf of Quarner: that gulf consequently remained to be crossed, which is of a peculiarly dangerous navigation in the winter season, during the prevalence of the violent wind called Bora, which sweeps downwards upon it from the northward.

We got under weigh, imprudently enough, with every sign of an approaching tempest, and had proceeded but a very few miles from the island, so as scarce to have reached the open part of the gulf, before the gale rose at once to a most

furious height, every wave breaking over our vessel.

The captain ordered all the troops below, and, fastening down the hatches upon us, considered as to the best chance of saving the ship.

The Bora of the Adriatic is a wind of such a degree of violence, as is almost inconceivable to any person who has never been exposed to it, and the scantiness of sea-room there makes it peculiarly perilous, for, if a ship is unable to hold her course, and is driven before it, she is sure to be wrecked upon some part of the marshes of Ancona, where, from the shallows, and shelving nature of the coast, there can be little or no hope of any lives being saved. This consideration determined our captain at once to endeavour

rather at all risks to weather out the storm in the open sea, than, by trying to make for any port, to expose us to the peril of being stranded on a lee shore.

The storm continued two whole days and nights without intermission, and when upon the third it began to abate, our transport, though saved by the firmness and prudence of our captain, appeared little better than a wreck upon the water, masts, sails, rigging, being all either torn and broken in pieces, or wholly carried away.

When the hatches were set open, a new and greater scene of disaster presented itself; terror, sea-sickness, hunger, exhaustion with some, suffocation, and the consequences of confined air with more, who were all previously invalids, had taken

such effect, that thirty-one of the soldiers were lying dead below, and their corpses, stripped of their uniforms, were thrown into the sea: many of the living, also, were scarce distinguishable from them, and could not long have survived; but we found that we were near Spalatro, and so made shift to gain that harbour, where we joined the remainder of the regiment, who had all supposed us lost in the passage, and now looked upon our escape as being little less than a miracle, as in fact it was.

Only two days after our landing, General Marmont came over: and after reviewing the whole reinforcement, gave orders that we should be distributed so as to form small garrisons in the neighbouring islands.

That of Lesina was assigned to the corps

to which I belonged; but my own state of health not being such as to admit of the possibility of any removal for the present, I was sent to the hospital, and there left in charge of the army physicians, by whom I was shamefully neglected, as seemed to be their system; and I suffered, during my illness, every sort of privation and discomfort.

I remained thus two months a patient in the hospital at Spalatro, and at the expiration of that term was directed to join my regiment at Lesina, which had been stationary there all the while. I proceeded accordingly, and did duty with them there about four weeks, when fresh orders came that we were to remove to the Bocca-di-Cattaro, which lies to the south of Ragusa, and has something in its aspect very

desolate and romantic, on account of the extreme ruggedness and boldness of the mountains which stand close about it.

These mountains are the last retreat of that wild and lawless race called the Montenegrini, the greater part of whom are no others than originally subjects and citizens of the old republic of Ragusa, who, feeling keenly both the losses and degradation of their country, under the French, were resolved, in their own persons at least, to make an experiment of resistance. They began by committing great cruelties and excesses; and, aided and encouraged by the intrigues of the Austrian government, wreaked their vengeance, in the first instance, upon such of their own countrymen as were more pacific, or opposed to their views.

The commerce of their little state had been so considerable, that they could count at one time three hundred large merchant vessels belonging to their port; all these they burned, and, not content with so doing, proceeded to sack and plunder all the principal villages, so that Marmont could only be said to reign over the ashes of that country.

This desperate body had afterwards retired up into the fastnesses, and fixing there, and becoming incorporated with a native race of hardy and warlike mountaineers, were constantly upon the watch to annoy and obstruct every operation that was carrying on below.

In our own case, no sooner was it perceived that troops were attempting to land, than these Montenegrini came flocking down, and, posting themselves nearer to

the base of their mountains, begun firing upon us; and when, after considerable loss, we had effected our landing, their efforts were not less violent to prevent our advance towards Cattaro; for they judged rightly, that we were sent for their destruction, and to hunt them out, if possible, from their last asylum. We succeeded at length in penetrating to the town, but it was with the sacrifice of a great many lives; and such of our men as were taken prisoners were treated with great inhumanity, being first mutilated in their limbs, and then exposed to perish, or to be devoured by the wild beasts.

At Cattaro, we were appointed to take up our quarters for some time. I had here a relapse of my former illness, and was again in the hospital for ten days. So soon

as my strength was restored, I again fell into the ranks, and bore my part in all the enterprises in which my regiment was engaged; which were coupled with all the horrors of such a civil war, and a system of proscription and extermination. I shudder when I think of some of them.

We next received orders to go forward for Budoa *, a city of high antiquity, that is at no great distance from Cattaro, inhabited by a very quiet race of people, who saw the sad spectacle of French bayonets, for the first time, upon our coming amongst them.

We continued in Budoa four months, during which nothing remarkable occurred,

* Budoa is a strong sea-port and a bishop's see; it sustained a siege by the Turks in 1686. It is 30 miles S.E. of Ragusa.

beyond several encounters, more or less general, with the Montenegrini.

During these four months, I had made acquaintance with several merchants from Scutari, in Turkish Albania, who traded from time to time with Budoa; with one more especially, I had grown very intimate (he speaking the Italian language fluently); and I confided to him the project which I had long cherished, of deserting from the army; and even further, let him into the secret that I was not alone in my scheme, for that there were no less than sixteen of us who were all of the same mind, including our sergeant and his wife in the number. I threw myself altogether upon his kindness and indulgence, and assured him how deeply the obligation would be felt by all of us, if he

could find or supply any means to facilitate our escape.

My friend shook his head, and answered at once, that to assist us, and become party in any way to our desertion, was quite impossible; French spies were so active in all the neighbouring provinces, that he should be sure of being detected and denounced, and that the consequences might be absolute ruin to him: we must not, therefore, delude ourselves by counting upon his vessel.

When he found, however, that it was in vain to endeavour to dissuade us from seeking other means, out of the sincere regard which he seemed to feel, he could not refrain from suggesting to me, that, looking to the localities of our present position, it appeared to him that it would be much more

feasible for us to make our flight by land; and, after expressing this opinion, he went on to describe exactly the track which we ought to take, and the point at which it would be best to pass the confines between Dalmatia and Albania. Should this course be adopted, he recommended that we should throw ourselves at once into the hands of the Turkish authorities, from whom he felt persuaded that we should meet with consideration and good treatment.

I repeated this advice of the Albanian merchant faithfully to all those in our secret, by whom it was generally approved, and, all remaining quite steady in their purpose of desertion, as a preparatory step we swore fidelity to one another, and that we would rather be content to die, than either betray our purpose, or submit to serve any longer in the French army.

No sooner did the day dawn which had been previously agreed upon for our escape, than we were each of us busied in laying together all that belonged to us, or would be likely to be wanted by the way, taking every precaution to do this unobserved by such of our comrades as knew nothing of our intentions.

Precisely at noon all met at a place that had been determined on: we were all Italians, sixteen in number, including the serjeant's wife, and each of the men carried with him all his arms and accoutrements.

We lost no time in proceeding upon our way, and the consciousness that, in every yard that we advanced we had by so much recovered a comparative state of liberty and free-will, made the toil and fatigue appear light to us.

We soon got confused, and being quite ignorant of our direction, were fain to climb to the top of the great mountain which overlooks Budoa: we reached it before the sun was down, and peeping cautiously from thence upon the city, so commanded it as to be able to discern almost every thing that was passing there; amongst the rest, we could very plainly distinguish the muster and roll-call of the troops, and even thought that we could perceive the bustle of surprise and inquiry that was occasioned in our own company, by the circumstance of so many of us not appearing. Some of us, eagerly intent upon this scene, and others more usefully engaged in taking accurate observation, as to the road which we should follow, all remained fixed upon that elevated spot till it grew dark: we

then began our descent upon the further side, and made onwards for Albania; walking at our quickest pace, and about midnight had already reached the frontier.

A French outport was stationed there; and no sooner was our approach perceived, than we were hailed with the watchword of *qui vive?* For a moment we felt as if all was lost, but some one of our party no sooner heard the challenge repeated for the second time, than he presented his musket, and shot the centinel dead upon the spot. the report alarmed the remainder of the outpost, and they all flew to their arms, and supposing us to be, as we really were, deserters, they did their utmost to arrest us, or to turn us back.

The night was so dark, that the two parties could hardly discriminate one another,

especially as all wore the same uniform; the firing, however, was very brisk upon both sides, and the result very disastrous, for, though by some good fortune, not one of the deserting party was hurt, five of the French piquet were left dead, and we have reason to think that several others were left wounded.

The advantage, in short, was so much upon our side, that we passed on unmolested into the Albanese territory, where the absence of any corresponding Turkish guard greatly facilitated our pressing forward; so that the sun had not risen above an hour, when we came in sight, first of the castle, and then of the town of Antivări.

The former of these stands on a commanding height; and as soon as some of the Turkish garrison within observed us

approaching, and that we were armed and accoutred as French soldiers, an alarm was given, and all instantly became upon the alert; for Antivări, at that time, had a large force in it, and was well provided with ammunition: a resident Pasha had the command of it, with the charge of watching and keeping check upon the French operations in Dalmatia, who was no sooner apprized of our appearance in the distance, than he ordered out a considerable body of troops, and placing himself at their head, advanced towards us in order to learn our intentions and object.

We could distinguish the gate opening, and this armed body, in gay colours, coming towards us; and, since every thing that we feared was from behind, we were so far from looking to this with any apprehen-

sion, that the sight inspired us with a full confidence in our safety, and we ran eagerly forward to meet the cavalcade.

But this impetuosity on our part was altogether misconstrued, and supposed to proceed from very opposite intentions, so that the Turkish body drew up as if ready for an encounter, and many shots were discharged at us.

We were thus soon made sensible of our error, and resorted to a more prudent course, in laying down our arms upon the ground, and waving our handkerchiefs above our heads in token of peace, which we thought would be sufficiently intelligible. However there seemed still to remain some doubts and misgivings, and the large body moved forward very cautiously and slowly towards our small one.

Not a man amongst them, as it happened, could speak either French or Italian; so when they came within pistol-shot of us, the two parties stood stupidly gazing upon one another, our first experiment having taught *us* that there would be great risk in moving from our place.

In this dumb-show we remained fixed for some minutes, till a Turkish officer arrived, who, having some little knowledge of European languages, had been sent for into the town to interpret between us.

We soon explained to him that we were deserters, and that we wished to find an asylum amongst the Turks.

He carried our message to the Pasha, who no sooner heard it, than he beckoned us all forward, and received our mute signs of respect and obedience with an air of

kindness and satisfaction, and gave a protecting nod, as if in assent to our wishes.

While we stood there before him, an object of great curiosity to his whole suite and to all who were collected, he called again to him the officer who interpreted, and asked us, through him, if we were hungry, as in truth we were, and we told him so. Upon which he himself gave orders that we should be supplied with every thing that we could possibly have need of.

After that, we made our entry into the town, the people shouting before us that we were "soldiers who had deserted from the infidel army in Dalmatia," so that a great sensation and a sort of feeling of triumph were excited, the people of every rank crowding forward to see us as we passed along.

The serjeant's wife was immediately set apart from the rest, it being considered quite contrary to Turkish usages that a woman should remain in the society of fifteen men. I do not well know what became of her afterwards, so that I take my leave of her here, and pursue the thread of my own story.

As for myself, and my fourteen comrades, we were all lodged in the principal mosque of Antivări, and there liberally supplied with all that we could want.

It was a large pile, and seemed to be the work of different ages, but the greater part of it had, in early times, been a Christian church, since converted to the purposes of Mahometan worship; and this now became our abode.

I shall not pursue the history of any of

my deserter-companions further than it may, of necessity, be mingled with my own.

It is a circumstance not to be omitted, that, whilst we continued in this mosque, once at least in every day, if not oftener, we were visited by a person who seemed to be high in authority. He could scarce converse with us at all; but, by his prepossessing aspect and kind manners, gained our confidence and esteem very much.

We did not comprehend the object of his interviews quite at first, but soon began to perceive that they had reference to our religion, which we were thus daily invited to renounce, and to become converts to the creed of the country.

Full as we were at that time of true Italian zeal, these overtures made not the

smallest impression upon us; we felt indignant at the very suggestion of renouncing our faith, and encouraged one another reciprocally in a resolution rather to die than to submit to it; nay, I verily believe that we were prepared to have done so, had measures of direct compulsion been resorted to; but the government took a less summary course with us.

When we were found to persist in our determination, we were soon given to understand that we must look for a very different sort of treatment from what we had hitherto experienced, since it was but reasonable, we were told, that if we would not become Mussulmen, we could not hope to be sharers in their privileges and advantages, but must be prepared for a life of hardship and privation.

Threats had no more effect upon us than bribes and promises, and on its being reported to the Pasha that there seemed no reasonable hopes of our conforming, he gave orders that from that moment we should be considered and treated as common slaves.

We were accordingly all sent out of the mosque, to work at the quarries, which are not far from the city. We were not employed in the cutting, but in the carrying of the stones, which we were compelled to lift upon our shoulders, and so to convey them, like beasts of burthen, all the way up to the castle, in which there was a wall building at the time.

The labour of this was intolerable, and as our clothes were worn out by it more and more every day, the rough and heavy

blocks began to press at last on our bare backs, which were sore from the load.

We had dragged on this wretched mode of existence during three months, without any spark of compassion having touched those who were set over us; our spirit was broken, and our strength exhausted, so that it seemed impossible for us to persevere in this course, and live.

Wearied out at last, our serjeant one day opened his mind to us. He pointed out (which there was no need to do) the wretchedness of our present condition, and that to continue in it must inevitably shorten our lives. Our own country was closed against us; we had therefore no hope as Christians, while every thing was held out to us if we would conform to the religion of that country which we had

chosen for ourselves, and which was willing to adopt us. The Mahometans believed, as we do, in a God; and upon examination we might find the differences from our mother church to be less than we had imagined; or at the worst, we might still retain our own creed, and put up our own prayers in our hearts.

It is wonderful what a few bold words will do, especially when they address themselves to existing circumstances, and to fellow-feelings.

I am persuaded that, up to that moment, there was not one amongst us who would not have suffered death rather than entertain a thought of adopting, even outwardly, any other faith than that in which he was born; and, indeed, this feeling had shewn itself so strongly, that it enabled us

not only to endure, but even to submit patiently to, our hardships and sufferings.

Yet no sooner were these words uttered, than, after looking silently upon one another for a moment, without further persuasion upon his part, or further reasoning on the subject, or objection offered upon ours, we all came at once to the determination of professing to be Mahometans.

Notice of this was communicated to the Pasha, who no sooner heard it, than he gave all the necessary orders respecting us.

We were immediately released from the laborious drudgery of the quarries, and were conducted into a mosque, where the Mufti, pronouncing some mystic words or prayers before us, and an exhortation in a language which we did not understand, we were received as Mussulmen; though I believe most of us continued in our

hearts as good Catholics as we had been before.

This change carried with it the necessity for a change of name also; and I fixed upon that of Mahomet.

As for the rite of circumcision, it was remitted to us for the present, till, by becoming better acquainted with the language, we should be greater proficients in our new form of religion.

No sooner had our recantation been made, than all the officers, in the highest posts of the Pasha's army, were desirous of having, each of them, one of us in his service; and, though to be little, if at all, better than servants and attendants, promised no very brilliant career, yet, after what we had lately been enduring, any life, exempt from hard labour and bodily suffering, appeared one of comparative hap-

piness; and, to do the Turks justice, they are generally kind and indulgent masters.

Mine was a native of Scutari, and of a good family; he held the rank of a general-officer in the garrison; his age was twenty-four; and never was a young man more favoured by nature, or gifted with a better disposition.

He exacted from me little or no other service beyond the presenting of his pipe to him, which is a regular office in all the principal establishments of the East.

He took at once a great affection for me, distinguishing me so much above all his other attendants, that it became a source of great heart-burnings and jealousies amongst them; and, on my part, I could not but feel grateful for his kindness to me, and eager to anticipate all his wishes. Every day he lavished upon me fresh

proofs of his regard, and honoured me in the sight of all the rest, by clothing me more richly than any of them: and no where is the dress more costly, or more beautiful, or more considered, than it is in Albania. His confidence even went so far as to permit me the entrance of his harem.

This harem included ten females of different countries, all of them young, and all more or less attractive, and the merriest creatures that I ever saw.

At first I was, if not an indifferent, at least an innocent spectator, and was amused with their playfulness, without paying much regard to their persons; but my young heart soon caught fire, and I began to brood over a passion which, as it had no vent, began to make me very unhappy; at length, feeling that I could smother and contain it no longer, I found means to re-

veal it to its object, who was a principal favourite with my master.

She was a Georgian; and her name was Fatima. At first I neither saw her apart from the others, nor could speak her language, yet looks passed between us that were sufficiently understood; and we soon sought and found opportunities of meeting alone.

Nothing had been left me to wish for, when the garrison received orders to remove from Antivari to Scutari; which, being my master's native city, it was there that he made all that parade of magnificence and expense which is deemed indispensable in a man of rank in the East. But though his suite became more numerous, I continued with him not less an object of favour than at first; and I found, also, that the change

of place had occasioned no change in the affections of Fatima.

But the envy of all the rest of the establishment became combined against me, and so they found means to speak unfavourably of me to my master; and, though nothing was proved, I soon found myself for ever shut out from his good graces.

Thus deprived altogether of his confidence, and almost debarred from his presence, nothing remained but to submit to the hard and menial office which he was pleased to assign me, which was no other than that of hewing wood, and fetching it from a mountain at the distance of six miles, for the daily consumption of his house; a beast of burthen was allowed me for the load; but it was a dismal errand,

without any companion or comfort by the way.

My degradation in the household did not, however, affect the preference which Fatima had conceived for me; she succeeded even, occasionally, in stealing into my room, and sometimes when, from my being called away to some drudgery, she did not find me there, would contrive to leave new linen for me, or some other little present or token.

I began to get accustomed to this new mode of life, and even not to dislike it, when new difficulties arose; for Fatima proved with child, and our intercourse seemed to be more than suspected.

Turning the matter in my mind, it sometimes occurred to me, that the best end that this could come to was, that I should

be compelled by the law to marry her, for that is what I should have wished; but then imagination, always making risks and difficulties appear to be greater than they are, made me dread the operation of circumcision *, to which I conceived that I should, in that case, infallibly be subjected, and which I had hitherto shifted off from me.

Neither my wishes nor my fears upon these points had, perhaps, any good foundation in Turkish laws or usages; but I had no person to consult, and was obliged,

* Ali Bey entertained such an extravagant idea of the indispensable necessity of this rite, "even to travellers in Mahometan countries," that he says, "I look upon the safety of their journey as almost impossible unless they have previously submitted to the rite;" which is far from being the case; and, as it is sometimes dangerous to grown persons, I apprehend very few renegades do submit to it.

therefore, to rely upon the suggestions of my own imagination and conjectures. Yet one thing I know past all doubt, which might alone have been sufficient to have decided me, and that was, that my master *could* take, if he *would*, a very different, and a much more summary course of proceeding with me, than that of making me marry the girl. I had the example before my eyes of one of my renegade comrades, whose case presented an exact parallel to my own, who, upon his being discovered by his master, was carried by him before a judge, and condemned and executed.

My own situation was become too critical for me to resist such a warning as this, and I came to the resolution of flying from Scutari.

I had many acquaintance among the

merchants who brought their goods thither from the port of Dolcigno; several of these were now in the city, and their vessels lying in that harbour till they should return to Alexandria, which was their chief place of traffic. I considered that some one of these would afford me the best opportunity for getting out of the country, and escaping from the dangers that seemed to be preparing for me.

Whilst I was deliberating in which of them I should confide, it so happened that I fell in with my original friend the Captain-merchant, whom I had known and consulted at Budoa, and who had there been the first prompter of our plan of escape over-land.

Scutari was his own country, and he seemed extremely surprised, and even a

little piqued, to find me so impatient to quit it, till, relying upon his friendship for me, I partly developed to him my reasons; and he then consented, upon the understanding that all should be arranged very secretly, to give me a passage to Alexandria; so that, by a singular fatality, the very same vessel that I had first looked to as the means of flying *to* that country, was destined to be the means of my flying *from* it.

From the moment that this was fixed and agreed on, I became as impatient to leave Scutari as I had been, until lately, contented, and even happy in remaining there,—so strongly had an impression of the necessity of the case taken hold of my mind.

To do the Albanians justice, I had found

much good and received much kindness amongst them; they are but little improved by education, but are possessed of excellent natural qualities; their disposition is quick and fiery, but feeling and sensitive, and no less strong and faithful in their attachments; their great failing is an extreme greediness after money, so that, as they are not sufficiently advanced in civilization to make their gains by ingenuity or handicraft, nor sufficiently steady, perhaps, for regular and fixed habits of industry, they almost all follow the roving professions either of merchants, or of occasional robbers; leading a very restless life, and often enlisting from time to time in the armies of other provinces.

Their appetite for gold, in some instances, is quite childish, and yet not the

less to be deplored in its results; I heard one cited, in which an European traveller was shot for the sake of the brass buttons on his coat, which were ignorantly mistaken for the precious metal. The murderer was touched with remorse when he saw what he had done, and was found grieving bitterly over the stranger's body.

The women partake of the same tone of character, the same virtues, and the same failings as the men; they have little acquirement or artificial polish, but great natural courtesy, and are permitted more intercourse with strangers, and more liberty, than in other parts of Turkey. They are women of an active spirit and a masculine courage, so that they can occasionally use the firelock almost as well as their husbands. I am here speaking, it will be

understood, rather of the wives of the peasantry and mountaineers.

Upon the whole, they are a people that deserve from me every expression of kindness and good-will, and I should be ungrateful if I ever could forget the good treatment and affection that I received amongst them.

Yet the die was cast, and I saw more and more the urgent necessity for my departure. So the resolution being once taken, I was glad to fortify myself in it, and eagerly seized upon every consideration or prospect that could reconcile me to putting it in execution.

Amongst others, I received such brilliant and high-coloured accounts of Egypt, from all with whom I spoke on the subject, that I felt a great curiosity and wish to

be there. Albanians were daily flocking thither to the army, and sent home the most inviting descriptions both of the cheapness of the living, and the regularity and largeness of their pay. Wars were also continually talked of, that were to be waged against I knew not what provinces, full of gold and spices, and where cities were to be taken that would send every man home rich to his own country. With tales such as these, which I heard continually, my imagination became heated, and I began to dream of riches and adventure.

I had no money to pay for my passage, and so could only rely on the disinterested kindness of my friend, the merchant. He did not, however, fail me, and I promised him, in gratitude for his assistance, that he should have, upon my arrival in Alex-

andria, both my pistols and my long dagger, which were very handsomely mounted in wrought silver.

It was in the month of March, of the year 1809, that, taking the utmost precautions of secrecy, I embarked with him, and sailed from the port; not indeed, without a severe pang at the reflection that I was leaving, and probably for ever, the being whom I had loved with the tenderest passion, and who loved me in return. But to stay with her would have been fatal to both, to carry her with me was impracticable, and I never could summon the courage to bid her farewell; so I parted from her without explanation: but her image was so present to me on board, that it was all that I seemed to see, or to take leave of in the coasts of Albania.

I stifled all expression of these feelings, and endeavoured to divert my attention from them, by observing what presented itself in our voyage.

We passed under the Ionian Islands, taking all in their order from Corfu to Cerigo, and I was much struck and delighted with the varied outline of some parts of the Morea, in the distance.

We proceeded thence into the Archipelago, and so through an infinity of little islands, the steerage between which is occasionally very intricate and difficult.

A cross wind obliged us to put into the port of Rhodes, but our stay there was too short to admit of my seeing much of that beautiful and celebrated island *.

* The scenery about the port of Rhodes has very considerable beauty, but not so the rest of the island.

From Rhodes we had the wind in our favour and the weather moderate, so that within a few days we could discover the low shores of Egypt in the distance; and I still recollect, with delight, the moment when Pompey's pillar was first pointed out to me as marking the position of Alexandria, where (after passing close in front of the bay of Aboukir, the scene of that famous sea-fight between the French and the English) we came safely to anchor, notwithstanding some trifling difficulties in getting within the harbour.

Here a new scene of life opened upon me: the wars that I became engaged in, the events which I witnessed, the sufferings that I underwent, the sources of satisfaction that I found, and, last of all, those long and distant journeys that it was my

fortune to be engaged in, both in Asia and Africa, will furnish matter for the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II.

Enlistment in Mahomet Ali's service—Ophthalmia—Cairo—Feuds between Turkish and Albanian soldiery—Successes against the Mamelukes—Preparations for the War in Arabia—Massacre of the Mamelukes—Author's Marriage—Thieves in the Camp—Fatal mistake there—and consequences—Marching orders under Tossoon Pasha.

On board the vessel which brought me to Alexandria was an Albanian officer, who pressed me over and over again, during the voyage, to enlist in the Pasha of Egypt's service, under his command; an overture which I was at first disposed to decline, till, reflecting that I had neither friends nor acquaintance in that strange country, nor any means of subsistence, it seemed best to avail myself at once of the oppor

tunity as it offered, and to engage myself with him, which I accordingly did. So that, after having, at the risk of life, withdrawn myself from one military service, here I was, out of hand, enlisting a volunteer in another!

The means of livelihood at least, however, were thus secured to me from the moment of my setting foot on shore, for this officer took me to his own quarters, and maintained me at his own charge, till such time as I should be regularly attached, and received into the Pasha's pay; for which the order was soon obtained, and (no better post having been held out to me than that of a private soldier) I became one of a small Albanian company, stationed in Alexandria, and commanded by my patron.

A Turkish soldier does not receive his full monthly pay exactly as it becomes due, it being the system to keep a considerable balance in arrear, and so to clear the account only once or twice in the course of the year, according to circumstances. Being provided, however, with all necessaries for maintenance, and finding every thing else to be procured at a very reasonable rate, what I received of mine, enabled me by degrees to repair and refit my wardrobe, and, with the aid of some small credit, I had sufficient also to supply my little comforts and amusements.

As for the city itself, (though the surrounding country has little to recommend it,) being the first of the larger sea-ports of the Levant which I had seen, I was

much struck upon landing with its bustling appearance, and the variety of nations and habits which I saw assembled *; and finding afterwards the convenience of its cheapness and abundance †, I became well satisfied with my position, had it not been for that distressing malady which is so general in Egypt, that any settler may consider himself highly favoured who has the good fortune to escape.

I speak of the ophthalmia, which attacked me before I had been quite five months in

* Ali Bey, vol. i., p. 325, says, "the confused mixture of nations which compose the inhabitants of Alexandria —this modern Babel, &c."

† Ali Bey says, speaking of Alexandria in 1806, (during the Mameluke disturbances,) "notwithstanding this assemblage of circumstances so unfavourable, the public markets were well furnished: what an abundance would there be under more auspicious circumstances!"

the service, and, partly owing to my making light of it at first, and submitting to no remedies, got to such a height, that during the two next I became completely blind, and suffered very great torment. After which, my eyes gradually recovered, and were at length quite restored; but the discomfort and apprehension* had so disgusted me with Alexandria, that I made up my mind to quit it so soon as I should have received the pay that was due to me, and this happening but a few days after I had so determined, I was quite free to go where I pleased.

* It is not to be understood from this, that the disorder is not equally prevalent in other parts of Egypt, though a new comer might not be aware of this. When therefore, Ali Bey says of it, at Alexandria, "I look upon the Ophthalmia as the only epidemic disorder of that country," it may be presumed that he means to apply the term generally.

I therefore took leave of my officer and comrades; and, indeed, of all military service for a time, that I might go as my own master to Cairo.

As I proceeded upwards, every thing that I saw was new to me, the whole aspect of Egypt being so different from other countries; and I was delighted both with the convenience of the navigation on the Nile,—with the majesty of the river itself,—with the succession of objects which its banks presented to me; and, above all, with the first sight that I caught of the pyramids, which astonished me the more when I was informed at how great a distance they still were from us; for the eye, not making allowance for the extreme clearness of atmosphere, judges very imperfectly of space in that climate.

The first aspect and entry of the City of Cairo itself was no less surprising to me*; its extent, its intricacy, its dense and varied population, where people of all colours and languages seem to be brought together, the continual traffic that is crowding through its narrow streets, and the bazars filled with all manner of the richest merchandize, were all so many causes of excitement, and raised my curiosity to a high degree.

I had been fixed there but a very few days, when I fell in with some Albanians of my acquaintance, who shewed great satisfaction at meeting me again; and one of them who had under his command in the garrison a body of no less than four hundred men, finding that I was very ready

* Ali Bey speaks with the same admiration at the first aspect of Cairo. Vol. ii., pp. 14, 15.

again to enter into the service, undertook to facilitate my views. He spoke for me, accordingly, to one of the general officers, who ordered that I should be immediately enrolled; and afterwards, when my good conduct as a soldier had been certified from Alexandria, assigned me, at my friend's recommendation, the post of Belik-bash (which answers nearly to that of corporal in an European regiment), and placed six men under my charge: so that I had now risen a little step, and was more in the direct service of the Pasha, since the troops in Cairo may be considered in the light of a sort of body-guard.

This Pasha is the celebrated Mahomet Ali*, whose name is become familiar even

* He is said to have been born at La Cavale, in Roumelia, in 1769, and there married; he came to

to European ears; his course of greatness was, at that period, comparatively in its infancy; but he had even then developed those large views, and that extended scheme of enterprize and policy, which have since rendered him such a regenerator of his province, and such a terror to all his enemies. Whatever Egypt at this day enjoys, either of commerce or industry, or internal quiet, is owing entirely to him; and, generally speaking (if his conduct to the Mamelukes be excepted), his measures have been effected without bloodshed, for he is not wantonly or habitually cruel.

Egypt in 1801 or 1802, and was raised to the Pashalick in 1805, from which he was recalled by the Porte in the year following, but stood his ground. His wife, the mother of Ibrahim, Tossoon, and Ismael, joined him in 1809, and resides in the citadel; while a younger wife, a Georgian, by whom he has no living children, inhabits the Ezbekych.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 95.

I felt proud to serve under so extraordinary a man, and eager for some opportunity of distinguishing myself. It was no time, however, to think as yet of external warfare; for, though the progress and successes of the sect of the Wahabees* had interrupted and shut out all commerce upon one side, and had cut off from the Pashalick all the honour and benefit of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, yet it was plain to the government that faction must first be put down, and internal peace

* The founder of the sect, Abdul Wahab, was born so long ago as 1696. The Sherriff of Mecca placed himself under the protection of his lineal successor, about 1809. Medina had submitted in 1805: and the pilgrim caravan, from Damascus, was stopped and sent back in 1806 and 1807. A memoir on the progress of the sect, from the very beginning, will be found both in Mengin and in Ali Bey.

established, before any thing could be undertaken against them with a hope of success.

One present source of disquiet and disorder, especially within the capital, was in the temper of the troops themselves, who being few or none of them natives, were partly Turkish and partly Albanian, though, perhaps, the number of the Albanians predominated.

A deadly feud * and antipathy existed

* Mengin says,—"D'Albanois, que les Turks n'emploient jamais sans defiance, et qu'ils n'osent charger de la garde de leurs forteresses, parcequ'ils les considerent etrangers à leur nation." Vol. i. p. 9. And again, p. 242, "La mesintelligence avoit éclatée entre les Albanois et les Turks." (1806.) And, at p. 306, (1807,) speaks of the insubordination and dangerous excesses of the troops in Cairo, whom he computes at 10,000. At p. 307, he mentions, that even among the Albanians themselves there were two factions.

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between the two, though it is not easy to say what were the particular points in dispute, their hatred seeming to proceed principally from no better cause than that their language, usages, and dress were different.

Parties of them were continually meeting in the streets; and, proceeding from mutual taunts and insolence to violence, seldom parted without bloodshed, so that many on both sides were wounded, and even killed in such encounters; and it became unsafe for any individual, of either faction, to venture out, without a strong number of his friends about him. Sometimes quite indifferent persons were involved, and suf-

Ali Bey, speaking of 1806, says,—"The Arnaut (Albanian) troops, under the command of Mahomet Ali, amount to 5,000 men. They are riotous and dissatisfied." Vol. ii., p. 13.

fered in the confusion of the quarrels; so that they had become a most formidable scourge.

Mahomet Ali, then but newly, and even precariously, in possession of his power *, was obliged to temporize with many abuses which he was not yet strong enough to repress: his policy, however, then was, with respect to this point, as it has continued ever since, to do away, as much as possible, with all distinctions between the soldiery; owing to which, and long habits of intercourse, the inveteracy has become much softened, and has almost died away by degrees.

But employment was a still more immediate remedy, and before long, almost all

* "L'autorité du Pachâ n'etoit pas encore solidement affirmie; il avoit à lutter contra l'esprit de corps des Albanois. (1808.)" *Mengin*, vol. i., p. 328.

were ordered out of the city, and united, under the command of the Pasha's adopted son, Ibrahim Bey * (now Ibrahim Pasha), against a common enemy that was scarce without the walls.

For there was a source of intestine discord quite of another nature, and much more formidable; the Mamelukes †, dis-

* Ibrahim is styled always by Mengin, the *son* of Mahomet Ali; but I believe the author to be correct in considering him only such by adoption, being commonly said to be the wife's son by a former husband; it would be hard to account otherwise for Tossoon (who was younger) being so much preferred before him who was (on the first arrival of both, in 1805) made Governor of the Citadel, and afterwards a Pasha of two Tails, and General-in-Chief of the Mecca Expedition, long before any such honours fell to Ibrahim's share.

† Much the best complete account of the Mamelukes that I know is in Mr. Hope's very interesting Oriental novel of Anastasius; but notices of their earlier history may be found, also, in Volney, and in the Introduction to Mengin's work, which follows their history to its close, but is too minute to be either clear or entertaining.

possessed of their rule, and in whose eyes Mahomet Ali was but an usurper and intruder, still retained such a footing in Egypt, that in all the more distant parts they continued forcibly to levy their contributions, and harassed and laid waste the whole province, even to the very confines of the city itself.

It was to put down this formidable power that our army took the field; but much time was lost at first in a sort of skirmishing warfare, that was not decisive to either party, and only served still further to distress the country. More extended operations were resorted to afterwards, and the whole force ordered to advance, so as to compel the enemy to a general engagement, or to drive them beyond the limits of Egypt;—a summons which the troops

received with joy from their young commander (exasperated and wearied out as they had hitherto been with a series only of petty conflicts), and went forward with him in high spirits.

The march may be considered as almost a continued scene of fighting; for there was not a day in which our progress was not opposed, sometimes by works thrown up across the line of advance, and sometimes by the most impetuous attacks on the part of the enemy, in some of which we lost many men, and had occasionally even portions of the army turned and thrown into confusion, but still we continued steadily gaining ground.

Meantime, the Mameluke force had no means of repairing and recruiting its num-

bers*, which were diminishing gradually in these conflicts. But it cannot be denied, that their resistance to the last was a brave one, and worthy of the reputation for valour (especially as cavalry) which they have always enjoyed, and which even their French invaders allowed to them: outnumbered, however, as they now were, and with a population opposed to them, the utmost resolution and obstinacy could avail them nothing.

Ibrahim Bey persevered in driving them, step by step, before him all the way to Assouan, which is the frontier town of

* Mengin says of them,—" Cette troupe, inconstante et irréfléchie, n'ecoutant que les emportemens d'un courage aveugle, perdit peu à peu ses forces en luttant partiellement contre un ennemi qui trouvait moyen de réparer ses pertes, tandis qu'elle n'avoit pas les mêmes avantages." Vol. i. p. 396.

Egypt, to the southward; and the Mamelukes, seeing no alternative left but to take refuge in the poor and destitute country of Nubia, made themselves masters of the strong position of Ibrim, about one hundred and forty-five miles above the first cataract, and there established themselves for a time.

I was not personally present to the end of that expedition; for the regiment to which I belonged proceeded no higher than Manfalloot, and was there sent into cantonments.

Now, although the great body of the Mamelukes was thus driven out, yet numbers of them, and their adherents and dependents, still remained scattered up and down through the villages and in all parts of the country, and retained offices and

posts which had been given to them under that dynasty. It became, therefore, the first care of Mahomet Ali to provide against any intrigues or combinations of these persons subversive of his authority; and to this end he issued a proclamation of general and complete amnesty to all who had remained quietly in Egypt; and added an invitation to the chiefs and principal persons amongst them, that they should come and fix their residence in Cairo, and so put themselves under the immediate protection of the government.

This conciliatory part of the edict had the effect desired; for, led by the example of Saim * Bey, who was looked up to by all as their head, they flocked, to the number of between five and six thousand,

* Mengin writes this name Châhyn.

to the capital, and there every one amongst them who held any charge of honour or emolument, had it confirmed to him, and retained it accordingly.

No sooner was the civil war thus happily terminated, and all these suspected individuals concentrated at Cairo, and received into allegiance, than it became unnecessary to keep so many armed forces stationed here and there in the country; wherefore, with the exception of a large garrison left near the frontier, the most part of the troops were ordered back, and myself in the number, to the same quarters we had occupied before the campaign.

We were embarked upon the Nile in barges, which were suffered to drop down the stream, but we occasionally put to shore, either to shelter ourselves from the

violent heat of the sun, or to pass the night; and two incidents, which happened during those pauses, in the short passage from Manfalloot, may be worth mentioning.

Whilst moored at Minieh, one night, preparatory to my going to rest, I had retired to some distance from my companions, on the shore, and was there in no favourable posture for defence: it was dark, but I thought that I could distinguish something moving on the ground near me, which I supposed to be a dog, but a stone which I threw soon discovered my error, for a man started up, and seemed to slink away to a distance, so that I looked no more after him; but, within a very few seconds, I felt him leap suddenly on me from behind *, and lay violent hold both

* In the note at the bottom of page 151 of Mengin's

of my wrists and of my throat, and so drag me along backwards with him into a pit close at hand, which is filled by the Nile at some seasons, but was then dry.

He was a powerful man; and I had no arms whatever upon me for defending myself, so that, keeping me still throttled with one hand, and kneeling on me, he proceeded to rifle me with the other, in search of money, or whatever might be worth his taking, but finding nothing, he gave me at last a stab in the right shoulder, with a little crooked knife which he wore, and as he loosed me, struck several blows with a stick to prevent my following.

work, is a remarkable instance given of Egyptian thieving; and in another, on the same subject, appended at the end of the volume (which I shall again refer to), other examples, not less surprising.—See also on this subject, Denon and most of the travellers in that country.

I hastened back to the boat, and there, shewing my wound, told my comrades what had just happened, upon which all immediately armed themselves, and hastened to the spot; but, though so little time had been lost, and they searched for hours together in all directions, no signs of the culprit were discoverable. I had, however, the consolation of knowing that he was without booty, and that the cut which he had given me, though it bled much in the first moments, was of little consequence.

An adventure of this nature had nothing in it that was uncommon at that time,—the Egyptian peasantry were become quite a nation of thieves, and had carried their art to a high degree of skill and perfection; in fact, the confusion of the times, and the

constant struggles between the Pasha's army and the Mamelukes had so taken away from them all opportunity for industry or honest gains, as well as all security for property, and had so laid waste the villages and the whole territory, that a better course of life could hardly be expected from them; robberies, therefore, and violences, and even murders, became matters of daily occurrence.

We were destined, a little lower down, to witness an act of still greater audacity, and which brought with it far more fatal effects.

We had put to shore near Benysouef, and after having dined together at noon in one of the great groves of palm-trees, continued sitting there all the afternoon; and to pass the time, were amusing ourselves

with games of cards and dice; the stakes were trifling at first, but rose as we proceeded; and from playing, at the outset, for paras, we advanced at last to gold *; the interest, of course, grew deeper in proportion, and before night-fall some had been winners of considerable sums. The losers were now in no temper to leave off, and so, when it grew dark, lanthorns were lighted, and hung from the trees, that the game might be continued.

This drew several Arab thieves about us, who crept on little by little close to our circle unperceived, for we of ourselves constituted a little crowd, being from thirty to forty soldiers, and were all so engrossed by our play, that we never noticed the

* Probably a very small Turkish gold coin, called the Rubee, of the value of from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. English.

strangers, but took for granted that all who were standing or sitting round were our own attendants or the boat's crew; and the light, indeed, which our lanthorns gave, was hardly sufficient to have undeceived us.

Whilst each was sitting with his little heap of money before him, intent upon the cards, which were dealing round at the moment, some of these roguish interlopers suddenly knocked the lights out, and others at the same instant discharging handfuls of dust into our eyes, snatched up as much of the money as they could lay hold of, and made off with it.

In the first moment of surprise, none of us knew what had happened, and nothing remained to be seen but our own party. Without entering upon any explanation, or giving time for any, there began a general

scuffle, every one in the number supposing himself robbed and insulted by his comrades; all had instant recourse to their arms, which were unfortunately at hand, some stabbing with their dirks, and some cutting with their sabres, and the confusion and bloodshed proceeded so far, that they did not cease till nine of our party lay dead or dying on the ground, and several of the remainder grievously wounded, so that I considered myself fortunate in escaping with only a slight sabre-cut upon the arm.

We learned, afterwards, from some of the by-standers, when our spirits were calmed and more brought to reason, what it was that had really taken place, and that they had in vain tried to stop our hands in time, and to pacify our misdirected fury at the beginning of the fray.

We were filled with shame and remorse; but there was no help for what had happened, so we mourned over our companions, and got them buried.

Thus diminished in our numbers, we quitted Benysouef with horror, and paused for a while the next day opposite the pyramids of Dagshoor: one day more brought us to Old Cairo, from whence, some mounted and some on foot, we made our way to the city.

Upon our return, fresh instances were not wanting of ill-blood and renewed animosities between the Turkish and Albanian soldiery, but Mahomet Ali was meditating to turn their fierce dispositions to better account, than by leaving them to destroy one another. For the insolence of the Wahabees, and their power and in-

fluence in Arabia, being daily upon the increase, and the pilgrim caravans plundered by them, or arrested and sent back at their pleasure, both his honour and interests were engaged to put them down, if possible; and this he had determined to do.

The preparations were carried on with corresponding activity; and, besides the great force already collected in and about the city, there were fresh reinforcements every day, and new encampments and cantonments of Turkish and Albanian troops drawing together upon every side, so that the numbers became very large, and much was added to Mahometan ardour and enthusiasm by the title now openly given to the expedition, which was that of the redemption of Mecca.

The command of it was destined to the

favourite son of our Pasha, called Tossoon *, who was younger a great deal than Ibrahim Bey, not having, at that time, attained to more than his seventeenth year †; he had good natural parts, and had received more education than falls to the lot of Eastern princes in general; he also bore an unblemished character, and was much beloved, especially by the soldiery.

Just as all seemed ripe for this campaign, it was found necessary to take prompt measures of security against those pardoned Mamelukes resident within the city, for it was ascertained that they had already began caballing ‡, and only waited for the

* Tossoon had been himself created a Pasha of two tails in 1809.

† Mengin says only 16.—Vol. i., p. 372.

‡ Il avoit même appris dit on, qu'ils (the Mamelukes) avoient conçu le projet de l'enlever à son retour de Suez. —*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 371.

marching of the army, or for the absence of the Pasha himself, to throw all into confusion, and overturn his government; who, being fully informed of the plot, and seeing at once the critical nature and extreme hazard of his situation, resolved on striking a decisive blow, and prepared his counter-mine accordingly, by which the whole race that gave him umbrage was to be exterminated in a single day.

It is not known that he consulted previously upon this matter with any other besides the Albanian Chief, Hassan* Pasha, the most confidential of all his advisers.

* The name is always written *Asam* in the original, but I have conformed to Mengin in writing it as the common name Hassan. According to Mengin, not only Hassan Pasha, but Sâleh-Koch, as well as the Kiayah Bey, and the Selictar also, were in the dreadful secret: yet possibly this might not be till that very morning.

Dissembling, therefore, all suspicion upon his part, and at the same time shunning everything that might excite it on the part of the Mamelukes, he invited their chief, Saim Bey, to an audience, and led him into familiar conversation, opening to him first his own views on this holy war, and inviting him to join in it.

The Bey had always passed for a man of craft and penetration; but he was over-reached in this instance, for acceding at once, and seeming flattered at the proposal, he entered freely afterwards into many details, and enumerated those whom he considered to be more or less under his disposal and influence, speaking at the same time in so high and confident a tone of the attachment and union of his followers, as to leave no doubt at all of his ambitious

views on the mind of Mahomet Ali; who, therefore, proceeding in his scheme, as concerted with Hassan Pasha, concluded the interview by inviting him, with all his adherents capable of bearing arms, to present themselves in the citadel on the following Friday, in order that arrangements might be made as to the part which this important body should bear in the campaign.

On his return from the audience, the Bey communicated the whole substance of what had passed to such of the Mamelukes as were most in his confidence, one of whom, who had more discernment than the rest, cried out immediately, "We are betrayed!" "So much the worse," replied Saim, "if it be so:" and, rebuking him with a look, added, "if there be dan-

ger, we shall not want courage to meet it." Then calling together the principal, as well inferior officers, over whom he presided, he recommended to them that they should all accompany him to the citadel, at a certain hour of the forenoon on the day appointed.

In the mean while the Pasha was not idle in concerting his measures for receiving them.

Before dawn, upon the Friday named *, the drums were beating throughout the city to call the troops together as for some great parade; few, if any of us, had received any intimation of this beforehand, so that all hurried from their quarters to know what it meant, and were marched off to the citadel as they arrived, and stationed there.

* First of March, 1811.

No specific instructions were given, but each man was strictly charged, after his arms had been examined, on no account to quit the post assigned him, and to wait there for further orders *.

The hour of audience was at hand, and a procession of about five hundred† Mameluke officers, of higher or lower degrees, presented themselves at the gate of the citadel, and went in; they made rather a splendid show, and were led by three of their generals, among whom Saim Bey was

* Mengin differs in several points in his account of this transaction, and says that the Mamelukes were attracted to the citadel in order to be present at the investiture of Tossoon Pasha with the Pelisse; but as that ceremony did not, by his own shewing, take place till a month afterwards, the pretext here given seems much more probable.

† Four hundred and seventy was the exact number, according to Mengin, vol. i., p. 363. Amyn, who alone escaped, not being comprehended.

conspicuous: when entered, they proceeded directly onwards to the palace, which occupies the highest ground; and as soon as their arrival there was announced to Mahomet Ali and Hassan Pasha, who were sitting in conference together within, an immediate order was given for the introduction of the three Chiefs, who were received with great affability, both Pashas entering into a good deal of conversation with them, and many compliments and civilities passed.

After a time, according to Eastern custom, coffee was brought, and, last of all, the pipes; but at the moment when these were presented, as if from etiquette, or to leave his guests more at their ease, Mahomet Ali rose and withdrew, and sending privately for the captain of his guard, gave orders that the gates of the citadel should

be closed; adding, that as soon as Saim Bey and his two associates should come out for the purpose of mounting, they should be fired upon till they dropped, and that at the same signal the troops, posted throughout the fortress, should take aim at every Mameluke within their reach; while a corresponding order was sent down at the same time to those in the town*, and to such even as were encamped without, round the foot of the fortress, to pursue the work of extermination on all stragglers that they should find, so that not one of the proscribed body might escape.

Saim Bey, and his two brothers in command, finding that the Pasha did not re-

* Mengin adds to this, that the Divan Effendi wrote orders to all the provincial governors to carry on the same extermination in their several districts, and makes the total number of victims amount to 1000.

turn to them, and being informed by the attendants that he was gone into his harem (an answer that precluded all further inquiry), judged it to be time to take their departure. But no sooner did they make their appearance without, and were mounting their horses, than they were suddenly fired upon from every quarter, and all became at once a scene of confusion, and dismay, and horror, similar volleys being directed at all the rest who were collected round and preparing to return with them, so that the victims dropped by hundreds.

Saim himself had time to gain his saddle, and even to penetrate to one of the gates of the citadel; but all to no purpose, for he found it closed like the rest; and fell there pierced with innumerable bullets.

Another Chief, Amim * Bey, who was the brother to Elfi, urged the noble animal which he rode to an act of greater desperation, for he spurred him till he made him clamber upon the rampart, and preferring rather to be dashed to pieces than to be slaughtered in cold blood, drove him to leap down the precipice, a height that has been estimated at from thirty to forty feet, or even more; yet fortune so favoured him,

* Mengin writes the name *Amyn*, vol. i. p. 292; and, what is very strange, though he notices his escape, says nothing of his famous leap, which I have heard from the Bey himself, and which is known to all Cairo, and the spot pointed out to strangers. Sir F. Henniker says of him, "his horse leapt over the parapet, like leaping out of a four-pair of stairs window. The horse was killed. The Bey entrusted himself to some Arabs, who, notwithstanding the offer of a large reward, would not deliver him up."—p. 64. The Bey's own account agreed with the text, and was probably, indeed, the foundation of it.

that, though the horse was killed in the fall, the rider escaped.

An Albanian camp was below, and an officer's tent very near the spot on which he alighted; instead of shunning it, he went in, and throwing himself on the rites of hospitality, implored that no advantage might be taken of him; which was not only granted, but the officer offered him protection, even at his own peril, and kept him concealed so long as the popular fury and the excesses of the soldiery continued.

Of the rest of that devoted number, thus shut up and surrounded, not one went out alive; and even of those who had quietly remained in the town, but very few found means to elude the active and greedy search that was made after them, a high price

being set upon every Mameluke's head that should be brought.

All Cairo was filled with wailing and lamentations; and, in truth, the confusion and horrors of that day are indescribable, for not the Mamelukes alone *, but others also, in many instances, wholly unconnected with them, either from mistake, or from malice, or for plunder, were indiscriminately seized on, and put to death; so that great as the number was that perished of that ill-fated body, it yet did not comprehend the total of the victims.

For myself, I have reason † to be thank-

* Beaucoup d'individus étrangers à cette scene périrent malgré leur innocence, tant le soldat etoit animé en carnage.—*Menyin*, vol. i., p. 362. The horrors of the two succeeding days are described p. 365.

† In justice to the writer, I should state that I have thought it right to abridge this paragraph, and here and

ful that though I was one of the soldiers stationed in the citadel that morning, I shed none of the blood of those unhappy men, having had the good fortune to be posted at an avenue where none of them attempted to pass, or came near me, so that my pistols and musket were never fired.

The strange fact of the leap and escape of Amim Bey, and of his asylum in the officer's tent, reached at last the Pasha's ears, who sent instantly to demand him; and when the generous Albanian found that it would be impossible any longer to

there to change an expression, in consideration of his being still a resident in Egypt; for it will be seen, in a note to page 371 of Mengin, that such a precaution might not be superfluous. "Mohammed-Aly Pacha ayant su que des voyageurs lui reprochaient dans leurs écrits le massacre des Mamlouks," &c.

shelter or screen his fugitive, he gave him a horse, and recommended him to fly with all speed into Asia; where I afterwards saw him, living in the palace of Suleyman Pasha at Acre, at the time of my first visit there with Mr. Bankes.

Meantime, here and there, even in Cairo itself, a few Mamelukes, by chance or contrivance, had survived the day of general slaughter, and were lying concealed or barricadoed, either at their own homes, or in the houses of such friends and dependents as were willing to harbour them, for the edict of destruction was still in full force.

In some instances, where a desperate resistance was expected from them, no opportunity was given for a defence, for combustibles were set fire to, and the places of refuge burnt, with every soul that was

in them. Whilst in others, among these petty sieges, the soldiers preferred the risk of their lives (of which many were sacrificed) to the loss of their plunder, all Mameluke property whatever being left at their discretion, and abandoned to them; —a licence which they abused, or construed so largely in some instances, that the dwellings of quite indifferent persons were pillaged and destroyed *.

* Mengin gives an instance of this, vol. i., p. 365, in which the aggressors were put to death for it by the Governor's order; and says that the pillage was put a stop to by Tossoon on the *third* day, after five hundred houses had been sacked or destroyed.—p. 366. Speaking of the women of the Mamelukes, he tells us, "Les Turks, qui ne pouvaient épouser que des femmes d'une classe inférieure, voyaient avec deplaisir que celles d'un plus haut rang dédaignent leur alliance, témoignaient de l'empressement lorsqu'il s'agissait d'épouser un Mamlouk. Ils eurent la bassesse de se venger, dans cette occasion, d'une sexe sans défense."—p. 365.

The work of rapine lasted six days; and, though present at many of these scenes, with a comrade of mine, I bore little part in them, and shall hardly be accused of having laid hands on a very large share of plunder, when I mention that, with the exception of a saddle, which I brought home, richly mounted in silver gilt—a piece of magnificence in great estimation with the Beys,—and a slave girl that had belonged to one of them, I took no advantage of the permission given to make prize of whatever we found in their houses.

The girl was young and pretty, and, as it happened, did not come empty-handed, for she had contrived to secrete about her some trinkets and money from the harem which she had belonged to.

I lodged her at first in the house of an

acquaintance of mine in middle life, and there went often to visit her; but, by-and-by, a proclamation coming out from the citadel, that such soldiers as should deliver up any women taken from the Mamelukes should receive the full equivalent in money, I consulted my little slave, and gave her her choice; to which she answering that she preferred to continue with me, I was so pleased with her, that I determined on making her my wife, and was married accordingly after the Turkish form, which is purely a civil contract.

I could, however, only pass the alternate weeks with my bride, for the great encampment of the Mecca expedition, to which I belonged, was now near the village of Matarieh*, some miles to the northward

* Anciently Heliopolis. The little lake, called Birket-

of the city, and I was required on duty seven days in every fourteen.

The tents there were rendered very insecure and uncomfortable by the system of pilfering from them during the night, carried on by the natives, which had arrived at such a pitch, that nothing was safe from them; and the loss and annoyance were of such serious inconvenience, that our commander-in-chief, Tossoon Pasha, was induced to resort to very strong measures, and setting a high reward upon the head of every thief taken, dead or alive, had it cried through all the camp.

Such an incitement, over and above the desire of protecting their own property,

al-Hadje (from its being the usual rendezvous of the Mecca pilgrimage at starting), is in the neighbourhood, and is the point by which Mengin designates this camp. —Vol. i., p. 375.

had the effect of keeping the troops much upon the alert; and as the pilferers were very numerous, and ran all risks, many were in one way or another secured, and impaled near the spot, for the sake of example. But so inveterate was the habit at that period, that, in spite of all possible vigilance and severity, depredations still went on, and valuables were purloined, sometimes from under the heads, and even almost off the bodies of the sleeping soldiery.

The reader has already seen, within my own personal experience, two examples of the effrontery with which theft was often carried on; but there is an instance that was then in every body's mouth, and said to have happened in the year before that of which I am now speaking, that although I have seen enough to make me credit it,

yet far surpasses all that ever fell within my own observation, and is so singular, that, though it be only from hearsay, I am disposed to relate it*.

While some of the Mamelukes were encamped about Minieh, a thief set his mind upon carrying off the horse and wearing-apparel of one of their Beys, and with this intention contrived, in the dead of the night, to creep, unperceived, within the tent, where, as it was winter time, embers were burning, and shewed the rich clothes

* Among the notes of the Historiques et Geographiques of Mengin, is one entitled *Voleurs Arabes*.—"L'adresse des voleurs Arabes étoit passée en proverbe parmi les troupes de l'expedition Française: on ne peut lui comparer que l'audace de ces mêmes hommes;" and it proceeds to say, that they would carry off the arms from the sides of the officers while sleeping, and get through the walls of houses, and do other feats that greatly resemble, and quite equal, some of those to be found in this narrative.—Vol. i., p. 441.

of the Bey lying close at hand. The thief, as he squatted down by the fire, drew them softly to him, and put them all on; and then, after filling a pipe, and lighting it, went deliberately to the tent door, and, tapping a groom, who was sleeping near, with the pipe end, made a sign to him for the horse, which stood piquetted in front. It was brought—he mounted—and rode off.

On the morrow, when the clothes of the Bey could nowhere be found, none could form a conjecture as to what had become of them, until the groom, on being questioned, maintained to his fellow-servants that their master was not yet returned from his ride, and told them how he had suddenly called for his horse in the night,—which at last seemed to give some clue to what had really happened.

Upon this, the Bey, anxious to recover his horse, as well as curious to ascertain the particulars, ordered it to be published abroad, that if the person who had robbed him would, within two days, bring back what he had taken, he should not only be freely pardoned, but should receive also the full value of the animal and of the suit of clothes.

Relying on the good faith of this promise, and possibly, too, not a little vain of his exploit, the Arab presented himself, and brought his booty, and the Bey also, on his part, punctually kept his word; but since, besides the loss, there was something in the transaction that placed the Bey in rather a ludicrous light, it went hard with him to let the rogue depart so freely, and he seemed to be considering what he should

do; so that, to gain time, he was continually asking over and over again fresh and more circumstantial accounts of the manner in which the stratagem had been conducted: the other was too crafty not to perceive that no good might be preparing for him, and began to feel anxious to get safe out of the scrape; he shewed no impatience however, but entered minutely into every detail, accompanying the whole with a great deal of corresponding action, at one time sitting down by the fire, and making believe as though he were slyly drawing on the different articles of dress, so as to throw the Bey himself and all who saw and heard him into fits of laughter. When he came at last to what concerned the horse, "It was," he said, "brought to me, and I leaped upon his back;" and so

in effect flinging himself again into the saddle, and spurring the flanks sharply with the stirrup-irons, he rode off, with all the money that he had received for the animal in his pocket, and had got much too far during the first moments of surprise for any of the bullets to take effect that were fired at him in his flight, and nothing further was ever heard of him or the horse.

The nightly instances of pillage in our camp happened sometimes under circumstances of scarcely less impudence and hazard, though they might not present any thing quite so entertaining as this to the reader; and we were so constantly receiving fresh warnings to be upon our guard, that at last the watching for thieves became an essential and prominent part of

military duty, and the numbers caught or killed were very considerable.

Among so many victims of our vigilance, there was one, at least, who was innocent, and I regret to add that he fell by my hand.

It was my week of service, and I occupied, with the six soldiers who were under me, a tent that stood a little apart from most of the others; here, one morning before daylight, while the rest were sleeping, I got out of bed, and was keeping watch, when the Binbashee, or serjeant, of the tent that happened to be the nearest to us, having gone softly forwards from it to a short distance (as it seems was his constant practice an hour before sunrise), was there kneeling, and silently saying his prayers, a custom so little general, and

especially at that hour, among soldiers, that I do not recollect to have seen it observed by any other, either before or since.

All that I could discern was what seemed a human form, crouching towards the ground, and occasionally moving, for there was not light enough to distinguish the precise posture, much less the identity of the person.

My mind, strongly prepossessed with the idea of thieves, entertained no doubt at all that this must be one of them, and therefore reaching for my loaded gun as quietly as I could, I discharged it at the object. It took effect in a mortal part, and the poor man fell upon his face without a groan. I instantly ran forward, with my sabre in my hand, to make a

trophy of his head, and so to secure my reward from our commander.

But what was my astonishment and horror, when I found that, instead of a robber, I had killed my friend and fellow-soldier! Bitterly did I cry over his body, and was at first so engrossed by the remorse and sorrow which I felt for the rash act, that I never once thought of the dangers to which it would expose me. My conscience, it is true, could reproach me with no malice or ill intention, but yet I could find no excuse for my impetuosity and want of thought.

No sooner was it day-light, than the fact became known to all the camp, some relating it in one way, and some in another; and, as the worst is often that which is most believed, it was by many looked

upon, till better informed afterwards, rather as a murder than as an accident.

I went of myself to the tent of Tossoon Pasha, and there stated the case to him as it occurred, earnestly watching his countenance, that I might judge what sort of impression was made, before I should proceed to implore his forgiveness and protection.

Just at that moment, a vast number of officers, who had heard of the circumstance, came in, and I was rejoiced at the opportunity of having so many auditors of my story, for, though deeply affected at what I had to relate, a clear conscience enabled me to stand forward boldly with the protestations and proofs of my innocence, of which all who were present became soon convinced; and it being on all hands con-

ceded that, where there was no ill-will, there could be no crime, I was sent back to my comrades, humbled, indeed, in my own eyes, and heavy at heart, but without the stigma of any reprimand or punishment.

But this acquittal on the part of Tossoon Pasha, and of all his staff, was not enough to screen me from further consequences; for the poor serjeant had relatives and friends in our army, who felt a full right, and expressed a fixed determination, to have blood for blood,—a notion of retaliatory justice which is deeply rooted in the minds of the Albanians; and the circumstance of my being known to be a stranger, and without connexions in the country, while it increased their inveteracy, tended also to make them safer in their purpose;

so that I found myself in the continual risk of being assassinated; upon which I had again recourse to Tossoon Pasha, who, seeing at once the full extent of my danger, took me under his protection, and, sending for those persons, agreed to pay to them, in satisfaction*, a sum of some thousand piastres, on condition that they should desist from all further pursuit of me.

It is, indeed, almost impossible for me to paint in sufficiently strong colours the amiable qualities of this son of Mahomet Ali;—kind, generous, humane, and affable, he conciliated the esteem and affection of all who approached or served under him.

* This satisfaction or atonement is termed Dyah. Mengin mentions that 4000 piastres were paid, in a case in which the Pasha himself had undertaken the mediation, to the brother of an Albanian binbashee, who had been killed at Cairo in an affray with the Franks.—Vol. i., p. 131.

Nay, he was capable of doing good to his very enemies, of which the instances were not unfrequent just at that time; for it happened, long after the general massacre, that here and there some lurking Mameluke was hunted out or surprised by the soldiery, and put to death, as his fellows had been before him. In such cases, the family, deprived of all that they had to depend upon, would almost invariably come and throw themselves at the feet of our young commander; many even bringing with them the headless bodies of husbands or fathers to confirm their tale, and move him to pity; and in no instance did he turn away from their entreaties, or withhold what relief was in his power;—he protected and provided for the widows, and became a father to the orphan chil-

dren. So that whatever stain some may have contracted from those scenes of blood, his own part in them was no other than that of mercy and compassion*.

Though I have already dwelt painfully long in this chapter upon acts of a very opposite character, yet there is one which perhaps I ought not to omit, since I was an eye-witness of it, and as it is characteristic of the time, and of the condition of the country up to the very moment of our departure.

As I was going one evening towards the city with some Albanian comrades, we met a man on the road, whom, for some reason, they mistook at first for a Mameluke, and

† Mengin, in speaking of the massacre, says of Tossoon, "qui ne prit aucune part en ce qui se passait."—Vol. i., p. 362.

seized him; but it was made clear to them immediately afterwards that he was not so, and they let him go. Upon this, the man, who had been roughly treated, used high language, and abused them, they threatening him in return; and I, who well knew how short an interval there is between menace and bloodshed with those who have their arms always at their girdle, and how small account the Albanians make of the life of a man, did all that I could to keep matters quiet, and to turn them aside, but I could not. From words they proceeded first to blows; and then, taking to their weapons, soon put an end to the poor stranger.

Horrified at the cowardice and cruelty of the act, I withdrew myself from them instantly, and hastened away; but I learned

afterwards, that they proceeded to cut the head off, and, representing it as a Mamelukе's, got the reward.

As for those who had been driven out into Nubia, they were very restless, and desirous of making fresh incursions into Egypt, which obliged Ibrahim Bey still to keep a very large force with him in the Upper Province; from whence, after repelling every attempt at invasion, he followed them up even into the country which they had occupied, and there worsted them so much in various encounters, as to oblige them at length to retire still farther southward, to the city of Dongola, of which, after assassinating the native sovereign, they made themselves masters, and retained the dominion there for about seven years.

Such is a slight picture of the state of Egypt, externally and internally, about the time when we were preparing to set out for Arabia; for six months had now passed away from the time that we were first encamped; and we were in daily expectation of receiving marching orders: preparatory to which, all the troops received the pay of three months in advance, and the task devolved upon me of providing what would be necessary by the way, as well for the six privates under my charge, as for myself.

I therefore put my affairs in order at Cairo, and took leave of my wife, whom I left there decently lodged.

The details of the march, and the campaign that followed upon it, will be better reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Suez—Voyage on the Red Sea—Siege and capture of Yambo—Wells dug and fortified—Heat—Insects—Scorpions—Battle and defeat at Jedeed Bogaz—Flight of the army and of the author—Embarkation at Mobrek—Return to Yambo—Reviews—Reinforcements—Sickness of the Author—He returns by Suez to Cairo.

THE march of the army on the Mecca expedition was gradually commenced*, a division setting out every day, and so, within no long space of time, the whole force, including as well such troops as were drawn off from remoter parts of Egypt, as those from the capital and its immediate

* According to Mengin, vol. i., p. 375, Tossoon Pasha, by his father's orders, gave the signal for departure from the camp at Birket el Hadji on the 6th of October, 1811.

neighbourhood, was assembled at the place appointed for a general rendezvous, upon the coast of the Red Sea, not far from the little town of Suez *.

Here they found, for the most part, vessels prepared to convey them to Yambo †, which was the point upon the Arabian shore fixed on for their landing; but it would be indispensable for them to touch here and there by the way, for the sake of water and provisions.

* Mahomet Ali had got ready eighteen vessels in ten months on the Red Sea.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 343.

† I have thought it best to retain the common spelling, though the author always writes it Lembi, Ali Bey Jenboa, and Mengin Janbo, who represents it as having been in danger from the Wahabees so early as 1804, when a special firman from the Porte was received in Egypt for sending 500 men to its protection; but the particulars of this siege, described in the text, seem very incorrectly given by him. There is a view of Yambo, the 66th print in Ali Bey's Travels.

I shall say nothing of the remainder of the army in their transit, but confine myself to the vessel which I myself was on board, which being in less readiness than most of the others, and the turn for embarkation of my company being one of the last, by far the greater part sailed before us.

The figure and construction of all the larger craft at Suez differ totally from anything European. The hull is large, and of an awkward appearance, and is furnished with only one mast, to which yards and sails of different figures are adapted, according to the circumstances of the different winds to which that perilous navigation is subject; add to this description the most lazy crew of sailors imaginable, and the reader has then a very just picture of a

transport on the Red Sea.—This species of vessel is called a dao *.

We got under way immediately, with a fair, though a very faint breeze; but this did not befriend us long, for we soon reached a point which is remarkable for the furious gusts to which it is almost continually subject.

The superstition of the neighbourhood ascribes it to a supernatural, and not to any physical cause; for this being, according to received tradition, the spot where the chosen people under Moses passed over,

* There is a sketch and the dimensions given of a dao, in Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 31, (where it will perhaps be observed to bear more resemblance to the ships of the ancients, than any other now in use:) he says, in his description of it, "the daos carry three sails of various sizes, to use on different occasions, and two little smack sails, for they never make use of more than one at a time."

the ignorant imagine that, since it was also here that the host of Pharaoh was swallowed up, their restless spirits still remain at the bottom of the deep, and are continually busied in drawing down mariners to their destruction; a notion so received among all the seafaring people along that coast, that it would be quite in vain to argue against it *.

* Burckhardt says, "The large bay of Birket Faraoun is so called from being, according to Arab and Egyptian tradition, the place where the Israelites crossed the sea, and where the returning waves overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host. There is almost a continual motion in the water of this bay, which they say is occasioned by the spirits of the drowned still moving in the bottom of the sea; but which may also be ascribed to its being exposed on three sides to the sea, and to the sudden gusts of wind from the openings of the valleys. These circumstances, together with its shoals, render it very dangerous, and more ships have been wrecked in the bay of Birket Faraoun, than in any other part of the gulf of Tor, another proof, in the eyes of the Arabs, that the spirits o demons dwell there."—*Travels in Syria*, p. 624.

In effect, so soon as we came abreast of the head-land in question, a most violent blast of wind seemed to rush down upon us as if it would upset the vessel; at which the crew all fell to prayers. But there was no abatement of the danger till we had quite passed beyond the limits usually exposed to this singular and awful phenomenon, which is doubtless to be accounted for by some natural peculiarities of the place.

The next day we coasted the region of Mount Sinai, so celebrated in holy writ, and, touching there, took in water and provisions, which we began to be in need of already.

Beyond that the navigation becomes exceedingly difficult and dangerous, reefs and shoals abounding in all directions, and the utmost circumspection being necessary to

avoid them; a sailor *, posted almost at the mast-head, was employed in looking down from thence, and shouting out how our course should be directed, as he discerned greater or less depth from above. Both the wind and the water were very still at the time, and the latter so clear, that it was amusing to observe in the shallows what curious objects the bottom of that sea presents, where weeds and corals grow to such a size, and so disposed, as almost to have the appearance of groves and gardens.

We were holding our course also so near the beach, that I could distinguish the variety of large and beautiful shells cast up

* It was on the prow (not on the mast-head) that four or five persons stood in Ali Bey's voyage, and warned the steersman in the same manner by loud cries.—Vol. ii., p. 33.

upon it, which furnish such a supply of mother-of-pearl to the markets of Arabia and Palestine*.

I was much entertained with the sight of objects so new to me; and the atmosphere was so pure that the eye could discern the minutest details of the landscape as we passed along, which sometimes opened to the arid and uninviting face of the interior country, and sometimes shewed no more than the bounded strip of cultivation along the coast.

Whilst these scenes in succession were beguiling the tediousness of the voyage, all at once our vessel struck upon a sand-bank, which caused a great and general

* At Jerusalem it is much used for chaplets, and the carving of small figures of saints, and for the inlaying of crucifixes. At Mecca, chaplets are also manufactured of it for the Mahometan pilgrims.

panic on board, and most of us were giving ourselves up for lost; but, owing to a great degree of prudent inaction on the part of our captain and his crew, and still more to the perfect state of calm which prevailed, we were enabled to continue stationary, till the tide rose sufficiently to float us off from our perilous situation, and to permit us to pursue our course.

We touched for water at Ras Mahomet, and afterwards for provisions at Moyeleh*, the wind continuing fair all the while, and within a few days more anchored safely at Yambo.

To observe some order in my narrative, I should here mention that the cavalry

* Moyeleh is just within the opening of the gulf of Akaba, and answers to the ancient Phœnicon. There is a print of it in Ali Bey, the 68th plate.

belonging to our expedition had not been embarked, as most of the infantry were, but made their way round by land with our commander-in-chief, Tossoon Pasha, and had reached the place of destination before us, as well as the most part of the fleet of transports; so that I found some attempts against the enemy had actually been already made, though without any sort of success; nor could any indeed have been reasonably expected, since the force had been hitherto straggling and incomplete, a large detachment of infantry, for whom the number of vessels had not sufficed, arriving only from their fatiguing march just about the same time that I did from my passage. Few, however, or none, were now at last wanting to the full complement of the army at Yambo, to the infinite satisfac-

tion of our youthful and impetuous commander.

The place itself occupies a position of some natural strength, and being fortified after the old fashion (though, as it is said, at no remote period) with walls and towers, has rather the appearance of a castle, than of a town, from the outside, the houses within being very low. It has a recently erected battery towards the sea, which was under the direction of an engineer in the service of the Sherriff of Mecca*. The

* The Sherriff Ghelib seems throughout to have acted a very double or vacillating part. He had assured Mahomet Ali of his co-operation, through Seyd Ahmed El Molla, sent as a spy to communicate with him.—Mengin, vol. i., p. 373. He appeared to Ali Bey, in his interview, to be from thirty-six to forty years of age, vol. ii. p. 57; and to be a man of sense, cunning, political, and brave, but completely ignorant.—p. 120.

Ali Bey represents Jemboa to have been, at the time

inhabitants and garrison were not themselves regular Wahabees, but, partaking altogether of the same views and interests, and implicated in the same cause, they shewed a determination to resist, and to keep their gates shut against us, after persuasion and fair means had been tried in vain with them at first.

It being, however, quite indispensable to the progress of the campaign, that we should be masters of this maritime post in the first place, as well as of its little port, our musters were no sooner complete than it was regularly invested all round, the artillery playing briskly upon it from the land sides, and a bomb vessel built at Suez

of his visit, subject to the Sultan Sherriff of Mecca, who appointed a governor there, with the title of Visir, but that he acknowledged also the sovereignty of Saaoud, chief of the Wahabee sect.—vol. ii. p. 161.

by Mahomet Ali for the purpose, doing its utmost to reduce it upon the other: but with all this activity we could not perceive that we were advancing at all towards our object; and our young Pasha became so exasperated by the obstinacy of the besieged, that he determined upon trying an assault.

His own personal energy and intrepidity of character had infused such spirit and emulation into the troops, that they waited only for the word, and shewed great impatience during the short delay requisite for the construction of scaling-ladders in sufficient number for mounting the walls.

On the other hand, those within were quite aware of this, and so well prepared to receive us, that, notwithstanding the impetuosity and determination of the attack,

it may perhaps be fairly doubted whether it would have been successful, had it not been combined with the disheartening and irreparable loss which happened to them at the moment, in the death of their chief engineer, killed by a cannon ball from the bombarding vessel, which rendering their battery useless, and leaving them exposed upon that side, it became evident to them that their little town could not long hold out; yet they turned their views rather to retreat than surrender. The walls meantime were very well defended, but all of the inhabitants not actually employed with the garrison in the manning of them, were collecting and packing up and carrying every thing that was precious and portable within, towards a small postern gate, called the Gate of Medina, from its opening in that direction.

The fortification upon that side had never been scaled, and it was only towards nightfall that our soldiery began to gain any firm footing upon the other; upon which all at once, as at some signal agreed upon amongst themselves, all the besieged fell back precipitately in one direction, and got out of that gate which has been spoken of, cutting their way through the small number of assailants who happened to be posted thereabouts.

We thus became masters of almost an empty town; and though we soon found that the enemy had left us but little of any value, yet, according to Turkish custom, all falling immediately to pillage, the fugitives were not pursued.

The next day, our Pasha, who had shared the fatigues and dangers of the

siege almost like a common man, had a review of his troops, and sent off despatches to his father with the news of his success.

After which, we remained quietly at Yambo for some time, without any fresh enterprise, the habits of Turkish warfare being naturally dilatory; but such a multitude of people in so small a place occasioned a great scarcity and dearness of provisions, and water soon failed us entirely.

For there is none in that part of the country, excepting what is caught and kept in cisterns; and those in Yambo, having been constructed proportionably to the native population, were insufficient for the supply, first of such a garrison as had quitted it; and then for our large force, succeeding immediately after them.

It became, therefore, very necessary to look out for a supply elsewhere, in which we were successful, by sinking wells in the neighbourhood to a very great depth; and as we grew more conversant afterwards with the country round, we found villages within reach, from which many necessaries might be procured, though not without difficulty; for the Wahabees and their allies, well aware of the frequency with which our wants obliged us to stray beyond our walls and outposts, and to traffic with places more or less in their interests or occupation, did their utmost to annoy us in these excursions, or to cut us off from our supplies: so that great exertion was made to provide against this evil, and, above all, for the protection of the wells which we had dug with so much labour.

For this last purpose, a great number of bags, made of matting, were filled with sand, and piled up in such a manner as to form a solid rampart round them, and so to secure from the enemy's gunshot, as well as from any surprise by cavalry, those little detachments which it was found necessary to post at each of them.

As the summer advanced, the troops began to suffer excessively from the heat; and, from being much crowded together in garrison, great sickness prevailed amongst them, and the insects also became a source of continual torment.

We were not sorry, therefore, to learn, that Tossoon Pasha had determined on following up his success, and to receive orders to hold ourselves in readiness by a stated day to march against the enemy, still scat-

tered about more or less covertly in the neighbourhood.

Accordingly, after a stay at Yambo of three months, and leaving there a sufficient force, we set out in quest of them, taking the direction of Cara Lembi *. Where, on our approach, they united, and did all they could to fortify themselves, but were brought to an engagement, and defeated, so that the villages in their occupation fell into our hands, with whatever they had before saved, and carried off with them †.

Upon this a great many of their sect

* The taking of Janbo de Terre is mentioned by Mengin, vol. i., p. 377.

† Il soumettait les villages de l'alentour; le cheykh de la tribu de Geheyneh, séduit par ses présens, l'aida de toute son influence: c'était la véritable manière de traiter avec les Arabes, que l'argent rend dociles, et que la contrainte éloigne.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 394.

threw themselves on the victor's mercy, (being for the most part landed proprietors, who were unwilling to see their substance hazarded in the chances of war,) and their submission was taken in good part, Tossoon promising protection to them, and even honouring them with presents.

Others fled up into the neighbouring mountains, and remained lurking there, but were subject to continual annoyance from our parties, who sallied out upon adventures, and carried off their women or their cattle.

But by far the largest proportion of the vanquished soon re-assembled, and took post at a most important and defensible pass through that same chain, called Jedeed Bogaz *, and were there fortifying them-

* Jedeed Bogaz signifies in Arabic the new open-

selves, and preparing for the most obstinate resistance.

During the same interval our army was all encamped about the village (or villages rather) of Cara Lembi, but in a state of great discomfort; for the quantity of scorpions was such, that most of the soldiers were stung by them in their tents, and such the virulence of their poison, that many died almost immediately, and some were kept so much upon the alarm, that they would prefer climbing up into the palm-trees, there to pass the night.

Other reptiles and insects also abounded in the same proportion; and the season being remarkably hot, our condition could

ing, or pass. The more common name seems to be simply Djideeda (the new); it is represented in the 65th plate of Ali Bey. Mengin writes it Goudoydeh.—Vol. ii. p. 27.

hardly, in possibility, be worse than it was.

Tossoon Pasha seeing this, and judging also that further delay would only be giving time to the enemy for the further increase and improvement of their works, resolved to make the attempt of dislodging them at once, or of bringing them to battle, since, so long as they should maintain themselves in their present position, they must command the road to Medina, and cut off from the Egyptian army all prospect of reaching it: for Jedeed Bogaz is a defile of very uncommon natural strength, the passage through it being not wider in some parts than just sufficient to let about ten men pass abreast betwixt the bases of two high and steep mountains, so that a very small number might maintain it against a whole host.

There were, however, at this time, not less than 2500 Wahabees collected there to defend it; and, though posted there so recently, they had made such good use of their time in building up rude breastworks of loose stones on the sides of the precipice, to protect them as they fired, that they could be very little exposed to our musketry; and as for our artillery, from the nature of the ground, we should not be able to make any use of that, or to bring it at all to bear upon them.

These disadvantages were not unforeseen, but since every hour must obviously increase them, when once the enterprise had been decided upon, a very early day was fixed for the march from Cara Lembi.

When it arrived, and the tents were struck, before we had yet moved from the

spot, Tossoon Pasha made a long and effective speech *, pointing out to us that the expulsion of the enemy from Jedeed Bogaz was one of primary necessity, and, in fact, was that upon which the whole issue of the war depended, for that without it no hope could be entertained of penetrating to those holy cities, whose deliverance was the object which had brought us from our homes, and which had inspired

* Mengin says, "Toussoon Pacha donna des éloges aux troupes sur les succès qu' ils avoient obtenus à l'ouverture de la campagne. De *Janbo de Terre* il se porta sur Bedr."—vol. i., p. 377.

Janbo de Terre is the place called in the text Cara Lembi, and by Ali Bey, Yanbea en Nahal, Janbo of the Palms. Addresses from the generals to their troops seem to be very customary in Turkish warfare. Mengin alludes to them more than once, and in a moment of great distress before Derayeh, says, "Prévoyant que sa position rendrait l'ennemi plus audaieux, et qu'il ne manquerait per de faire ses sorties, Ibrahym Pasha avait harangué énergiquement ses troupes."—vol. ii., p. 125.

that zeal and determination which had already proved irresistible at Yambo and Cara Lembi; and if we could for one moment lose sight of its importance, we were unworthy both of the name of true believers, and of the fame which the Egyptian army had acquired!—He mentioned also that he had received letters from his father, not only extolling our success at Yambo, but speaking also of the enthusiastic joy which the news had spread among our families and friends at Cairo. "How inconsistent, therefore," he continued, "as well as base would it be, should you blight by your future conduct all these rejoicings and expectations that have been excited at home! We have but to proceed in our course, to march, and to conquer, and to become, not in name only, but in fact, the redeemers of Mecca!"

Those who caught his expressions were delighted with them, and they were repeated from one to another through the army, in which all had been captivated by his earnest countenance and action as he spoke, so that never any call had a greater effect; and it was answered by a display of the utmost ardour and enthusiasm.

The march was commenced immediately afterwards, and was very long on the first day, and still longer on the second, which brought us in the evening to Bedrionin*, a village where it has been the custom with

* This place is called simply Bedr by Mengin, who celebrates its waters and gardens, (the attractions, no doubt, which used to detain the pilgrim caravans there.) It was first taken, it appears, after an affair of about two hours with the enemy; in which, as it is not mentioned, our author, we may conclude, was not personally concerned.

the pilgrim caravans, for time immemorial, to make a halt during two or three days, in order to rest and refresh themselves. For our part, however, we did not even remain in it a whole night; for, arriving there at dark, we set forward again soon after midnight, and, by a forced march, got near to Jedeed Bogaz, and into sight of the enemy at daylight.

We halted not far from their position, on a comparatively level ground, surrounded by very high mountains; and the troops were got into order, and the tents pitched there till further orders.

For, before I speak of the event of our operations at Jedeed Bogaz*, I should, in

* This position, styled, in the text, Jedeed Bogaz, is designated by Mengin as being "en avant de Safrâ"—p. 382; and the battle and defeat distinguished by the same name. There is, however, a great agreement in the

justice to our youthful general-in-chief, mention the precaution which he had taken on setting out upon this hazardous undertaking.

There were attached to our expedition a considerable number of small vessels on the Red Sea, which, so long as we remained at Yambo, and Cara Lembi, were kept at anchor off those places, to wait our movements and supply our necessities. As soon, however, as we proceeded to march farther onwards, they had orders to make for Mobrek, a place upon the coast, distant only three or four hours from the present scene of action, where they might

circumstances.—vol. ii., p. 27. Speaking of the same pass, Mengin says, " on alla camper sur les hauteurs, de Safrâ et de Goudayeh. Toussoun fit travailler de suite à la construction de deux forts à l'entreé et à la sortie des defilés."

secure us a retreat in case of any failure or disaster. And the necessity of such a measure became the more evident, when, from an actual view of the country, it was ascertained that there was not a single tenable village in our rear which we could retire upon, should that, by any reverse, become necessary. All movements were therefore suspended, till intelligence should be received that our shipping had reached its destination; which was important, moreover, as having a store of provisions on board, that no distress might be felt in the army, should circumstances tend to detain us in the position now taken, longer than we expected.

The wished-for tidings arrived, and became the signal for a general review, during which we could plainly distinguish the

enemy in great numbers upon * both the mountains in front of us, who seemed to look down upon us from thence with contempt, as confident in their own security.

Meantime we were again addressed with the highest encomiums on our former valour and good conduct; and the young Pasha declared himself to be quite as ready for the post of danger as any one amongst us; so as to be more willing to be considered, in this respect, our comrade than our commander.

The next day a signal was given, and a partial skirmishing ensued, but with more loss upon our side than upon the other,

* Les Wahabys occupaient les défilés et le haut des montagnes; leur position paraissait inexpugnable.—*Mengin.*

owing to the great disadvantage of the ground; and it was not till the third or fourth, that this desultory system of warfare was abandoned, upon its leading to no better results.

It had probably been undertaken and persisted in with the hope of drawing our adversary down; but when it was found quite ineffectual to this purpose, it had been at last determined to attack them in their redoubts on the morrow.

Before daylight, all were under arms: and, just at dawn, the order for advance was instantly and eagerly obeyed,—the whole mass pressing impetuously forward in order to force the position, and dislodge the Arabian army from both the heights, amidst a very sharp fire upon both sides; and not only the first united fire was tre-

mendous, but it was long and steadily sustained, the obstinacy upon the one part being equal to the daring upon the other, so that the issue seemed to be very doubtful; Tossoon himself coming forward to encourage and animate his men, calling to many of them individually by their names, and adjuring them, by their religion and their country alternately, as he appealed to the names of Egypt and Mecca.

They needed no such spur; but yet, perhaps, it was not quite without its effect, for in that forenoon they did wonders; and, notwithstanding the steepness of ascent, and the incessant firing from above, gained possession here and there of several of the breastworks*; but these were again so com-

* "On donna l'assaut, les retranchemens furent emportés de vive force."—*Mengin.*

manded by others, that they were of little service, and opened only new points for the aim of the Wahabees, who could pour their bullets down upon us almost with impunity, and thus occasioned a most dreadful slaughter.

About mid-day, the sun grew so intensely hot, reflected from these arid mountain sides, that it became impossible for either party to persevere in active exertion, and there was a truce accordingly for several hours, during which most of our soldiery laid themselves down under the palm-trees, which grow there upon the lower levels in abundance; and which, besides the benefit of shade, furnished them also with a very acceptable supply of dates.

The cravings of thirst, however, became

intolerable, and could not be satisfied, (at least with by far the greater number,) there being no water that we knew of upon the field. So that the impatience of our present condition became great; and the signal for action, given at about four o'clock in the afternoon, was received with a desperation that was like joy.

However, whether from weakness and exhaustion, or some other cause, the firing was at first neither very brisk, nor with much effect; but the courage and spirits warmed afterwards, and the contest became much hotter on both sides than it had been in the fore part of the day.

The ferocity and the carnage are indescribable, and continued, with the issue still doubtful, till long after sunset; for it had been night about two hours, when all

at once some panic or disaster turned the fortune of the battle, and we were put completely to the rout.

There was a flight and a pursuit, but in such disorder * and confusion, nothing being to be discerned and distinguished, that many of the foremost of the Wahabees were killed by their own party amongst our troops, of whom a vast proportion perished at every step.

The miserable remnant that reached our camp with Tossoon found it quite untenable against an enemy master of the field, for it had neither trenches nor any sort of fortification about it; they halted, there-

* "On abandonna les tentes et les bagages, les soldats en fuyant, pillaient les effets de leurs chefs, les plus forts s'emparaient des chevaux des plus foibles." "Plusieurs s'étant égarés au milieu de l'obscurité péferirent par les mains des Arabes."—*Mengin*, p. 383.

fore, only long enough to set fire to all the tents and camp equipage, abandoning * even the military chest in their haste; and no refuge or hope seeming to be left for them but in the little squadron at Mobrek, fled precipitately thither, and embarked.

Some of the vessels remained stationary, and some coasted to short distances, in order to pick up the stragglers; signal-guns being fired at intervals to encourage them, and point out their direction; a great number accordingly dropped in by little and little, during the two or three following days; and the young Pasha,

* "Cependant les Wahabys, croyant que la fuite des Turcs était une ruse préméditée dans le dessein de leur dresser des embûches, ne descendirent à leur camp que le lendemain, tandisque, s'ils les avaient poursuivis la veille, il n'en serait pas échappé un seul. Le biscuit, les munitions de guerre, les tentes, le bagage tombaient en leur pouvoir."—*Mengin*, p. 383.

who was himself on board, did what he could to animate and encourage their broken spirits; and he himself bore his reverses manfully.

As for me, on the night of the defeat, before I was aware of the turn that things had taken, I found myself, as well as a comrade at my side, so enveloped and intermixed with the enemy, that it is almost a miracle how we extricated ourselves, and escaped alive. Cut off, however, from all our friends, after a most toilsome and perilous scramble, we gained a high and somewhat detached eminence, half dead with fatigue and hunger, and suffering even yet more from thirst.

Scarcely even did we dare to stand upright, in order to look around us, for fear of being discovered; for we could still hear

cries and shouts in the distance, and saw fires kindling on many of the heights, which we judged could only be the work of the victors, whether as signals, or only to light them in their pursuit and observation of the fugitives, while a much wider expanse of flame lower down, and further off from us, pointed out the situation of our ill-fated camp.

Our predicament seemed almost hopeless, but since daylight would only increase the danger, and our present wants and sufferings were become intolerable, it seemed best to make at once for that point, of which we had now ascertained the direction. It might, therefore, be about midnight when we descended, crawling upon all-fours, like animals; and so, in fear and trembling, passed several times almost close within

sight and hearing of those who were searching for stragglers, or stripping the bodies. We had the good fortune to reach the plain unobserved, and found our camp still glowing in its ashes, and consumed, with almost all that was in it; there were appearances that it had been partially plundered, but whoever had been there were now all withdrawn from it, the routed army for retreat, and the masters of the field, doubtless, for precaution, and fearing some stratagem during the night.

We laid hands on a few provisions which had escaped, or been abandoned for the seizure of the treasure, which had itself also been looked to with so little exactness in their moment of haste, that I picked up about four hundred golden crowns that were lying scattered upon the ground.

Parched and perishing as we were at that moment, a single draught of water would have been much more valuable to us; but this could nowhere be found*.

Fortunately, however, I happened to recollect a spring that lay distant about five miles from that position; so that, without taking further rest, we hurried to it with the utmost impatience, and after having drank, refreshed ourselves by bathing in it.

From thence, although to gain Mobrek was our object, it was little better than mere chance that led us to take the right direction, in which we afterwards overtook or fell in with several of our comrades, all quite as much at a loss as ourselves.

* L'armée turque comptait huit mille hommes: la moitié périt de faim et de soif à la suite de cette affaire.—*Mengin*, p. 384.

One knot of them was sitting despondently round the brink of a well, too deep for them or for us to reach the water by any contrivance that we could devise, though expiring with thirst; and one of the number, in the agony and despair occasioned by it, threw himself in, and perished before us all.

It was now daylight, and many tracks were discernible from this well, so that there was a great division of opinion which should be taken, and some of us separated; but that which I chose soon brought me into sight of the sea, and of our shipping, which was coasting very close to the beach. Weary and exhausted as I was, I found strength to run down; and there, in my impatience, threw myself into the water, and swam on board one of the largest,

which, as it happened, was that in which Tossoon himself was embarked.

As he saw any cavalry arrive, after sending them refreshments on shore, he gave them orders immediately for Yambo; but in several instances we could see their poor horses, pressed by extreme thirst, push forward into the salt-water, and drink it till death was the consequence; though they were become doubly precious, great numbers having perished in the skirmishes or the engagement, and in the havoc and rout that followed upon it. Only such, therefore, of the men as were dismounted were received into our little fleet, with the remains of the infantry, which, after full time had been allowed for collecting all who could be supposed to have escaped, was directed to steer for Yambo, that all might

be there concentrated, till time should be given for advices and fresh reinforcements from Egypt.

In this passage, of no great distance, we had to strive during three whole days against foul winds, along that difficult and dangerous coast; so that provisions began to fail, and all were put upon a very short allowance; the water particularly being reduced so low, that where I was, the young Pasha used to give it out himself, to prevent quarrelling and contentions for it; no more than a single cup being measured out to each person during the day.

At last with great joy we got sight of Yambo; and the garrison there, having heard of our disaster, made signals of welcome to us upon our return, and we felt great comfort at being once more united in safety.

Here, after about a fortnight's rest, when there could no longer remain any hope of the re-appearance of such as were still missing, a general muster and review took place —a melancholy spectacle, for, though the precise numbers that had fallen were studiously kept from us, it was plain to be seen, at a single glance, that we were reduced at the least by one half*, and were, for the most part, almost without clothes or arms, more like peasantry than soldiers.

In the despatch, however, forwarded to Cairo, our discomfiture, our wants, and our losses, were fully stated; and not only such reinforcements asked for from thence as should make good the deficiencies, but even a large augmentation of force, if any

* See the extract from Mengin in page 175, who also mentions Tossoon's retirement with his troops to Yambo, till reinforcements should arrive.

good result was to be expected: so formidable a picture was given of the Wahabees, both as to their own valour, and the great strength and importance of the post which they had taken.

Thus crippled in our strength, and the troops themselves low in spirits and desponding, it was thought advisable to confine them very much to close quarters within the fortifications of the town; small skirmishing parties did indeed occasionally sally out, and had little encounters with detachments of the enemy, but none at all that were considerable or decisive, nor did anything worthy of remark occur during nearly four months that were spent in that state of inactivity.

Yet long before the expiration of that time it became known that advices had

been received from Mahomet Ali, full of regret and disappointment at what had happened, but with strong exhortations, also, to fresh exertion towards wresting from our opponents that mountain-pass which was the key to the interior, and concluding with the promise of ample and immediate reinforcements, and supplies of whatsoever might be wanting.

Nor were we deceived in our expectations; for the new detachments began already to arrive, and in such numbers as to give quite new life and a new appearance to the army, so that it very soon after became necessary to quit the walls, and to encamp upon the outside, in order to find sufficient space; and all resumed again an appearance of military bustle and activity, with inspections and reviews, both of horse

and foot, going on daily,—Tossoon doing his utmost to train and harden his men before a fresh campaign, and to inure them to the endurance of heat and fatigue; while the soldiers were reviving gradually to their former pitch of courage and enterprize at the improved aspect of their numbers and condition, and were longing for their revenge upon the Wahabees; who, upon their side, as well aware of the increase of our force, as of the infinite importance of their own position, were not wanting in the provision of means of resistance, and in fortifying themselves, to the utmost of their power, with the construction of additional breastworks and batteries.

I mentioned that when, during the night of the defeat at Jedeed Bogaz, I reached

the spring of water, I had imprudently not confined myself to drinking, but had also bathed in it. The consequence was, that from that time my whole frame became disordered, and I suffered the greatest torture from rheumatic pains; the want of clothes and of necessary comforts so confirming and increasing the complaint, that I was obliged to pass most part of my time within doors, without being able to take any share at all in the military evolutions, or the service of the garrison.

Perceiving myself, therefore, to be quite disqualified from prosecuting the next campaign, I thought of returning to Cairo, in order to attend to my health; but, since I could not compass this without obtaining leave from the general-in-chief *, I waited

* Those who, after the defeat, returned to Egypt

upon him to request it, explaining to him how in my present condition I had become quite disabled.

Tossoon Pasha was not much pleased with such a proposition, and at first flatly refused it, answering that not a single soldier could be spared from the army, while the safety and honour of Egypt were at stake, as they now were. But, continuing to plead my illness and incapacity (as I well might, since I was suffering at the very moment of speaking, and had had very little ease during the last four or five months), he ordered me at length to be very

without leave, were very ill-received by Mahomet Ali, and with their officers ordered to return to Albania.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 388; who adds, in the same page,—En même tems, le gouvernement fit publier dans tous les quartiers de la ville, que les soldats déserteurs seraient arrêtés, dépouillés, et mis en prison; qu'ils ne pouvaient se racheter qu'à prix d'argent.

strictly examined by his European army-surgeons, who, in their report, confirmed my representation so entirely, that within four days afterwards, it was notified that I was to be conveyed to Suez, in some transports that were bound thither immediately.

Anxious as I was to recover my health, it was yet a great mortification to me when I thought of leaving all my comrades, and an honourable service, under a brave, though not a fortunate commander; and as I turned them in my mind, during the few intervening days, these reflections pressed so much upon me, that I could not bear to go, without having first expressed to our young Pasha himself how much I felt them, and with how much real regret I was about to withdraw from him.

With this view, I watched my opportunity for a second audience, and found one in the forenoon, while all his principal officers were standing about him.

He now recognized me at first sight (which had not happened, or at least was not expressed in the former interview) as the person who had swam on board his vessel, and spoke very kindly to me, which gave an opening for calling to his recollection that I was under an earlier obligation to him, being the corporal whom he had bought off from an affair that threatened my life in Egypt,—a benefit never to be forgotten, and which greatly increased my regrets that bodily infirmity, just at this critical time, should disqualify me from serving him, but that my attachment and gratitude were unalterable.

He listened most condescendingly, and said that he doubted not, that, had it so pleased God, I should have continued to have served him well; and with that, after a small present had been ordered to be given to me, I was graciously dismissed.

In a few days I bade farewell to all my companions in arms, and was received into the transport that was to sail direct for the port of Suez, conveying, also, about forty other invalids, who, like myself, were on their return to Cairo.

My ill-fortune did not even quit me here; for the winds were always contrary, and the currents of the Red Sea so violent in certain parts, as to retard our progress beyond all calculation; so that it was not till after forty days of the worst possible passage, that we cast anchor in safety.

The sight of Suez, however, turned me to reflecting how very few of those who had set out from thence with me would ever return at all, and made me sensible that I ought to feel grateful to Providence.

When landed, after staying a very few days to rest and refresh myself there, I made my journey to the capital.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author's Divorce—buys Horses for an English Officer—Mahomet Ali takes the Command in Arabia—Sheriff of Mecca—Regency—Letif Pasha—his Honours, and Conspiracy—besieged in his House, taken, and executed—Return of the Author to the Army—Siege and Capture of Coufuta—the Author's post at a Well—Defeat there, and Flight—Coufuta retaken—Lid—Mutinous Spirit.

WITH whatever eagerness I returned home, and to my wife, it was yet with the abatement of many misgivings, and a secret dread of domestic discomfort; for I had been absent but a very short time, when I received hints from friends of mine, resident in Cairo, that there were appearances of great levity of conduct, and that those with whom I had placed her were unwilling to

continue the charge; further inquiry now upon the spot, tended rather to increase than to allay such suspicions; and her altered carriage towards me, seeming fully to confirm them, gave me very great uneasiness: and it so happened, that just at that time, a vessel, freighted from Albania for Alexandria, brought a letter addressed to me almost at hazard, which, falling into the hands of a friend of mine, was immediately forwarded. I found that it was from Fatima; but how she had contrived to get it written, or directed, or conveyed, I have never learned: it is probable, however, that some of the crew of the merchant-ship which brought me may have communicated afterwards with those searching for me in Scutari, or the pistols which I presented to the captain may have been traced.

It is plain, however, that I was supposed to be alive, and in Egypt.

The letter was full of reproaches for having forsaken her, and informed me of the birth of a boy. Supposing, also, that my condition of life was the same as that in which she had last seen me, a trifling present of linen was mentioned as being sent, which was, however, never delivered to me.

Such proofs of kindness and attachment called up so strongly the endearing images of a first passion, as to fortify me not a little in my present feelings of disgust, and to dispose me to the immediate remedy of a divorce; to which my wife assenting, we both made our appearance before a person in authority in the law, to whom we certified our intention; and she, receiving back

what had been settled on her at her marriage, our union was declared to be dissolved.

Thus easily is this matter disposed of among Mahometans, so soon as the parties become indifferent to one another; and it seems to be perhaps the only mode of preventing those lamentable disorders which abound in countries where matrimony once contracted becomes indissoluble.

Not that I have any desire to make a panegyric upon Eastern customs or morals, for I know very well that the too great facility with which divorce is there obtained, tends to make wedlock lightly thought of, and engaged in heedlessly, and is attended with many inconveniences: but still, I cannot help thinking, that where divorce is attainable, under certain whole-

some restrictions, it may be of great practical advantage.

I will here quit my own personal narrative for a moment, to say a word on public affairs, and of what was passing in the city at that period.

Mahomet Ali was directing all his efforts and undivided attention to the war in Arabia, which was become doubly formidable, not only from the resolute conduct of the Wahabees themselves, but from the connivance and co-operation with them of the Sheriff of Mecca, artfully represented by him at first to be compulsory, but now more than suspected to be willing, and from private views of his own. He was known, indeed, to have no leaning to the tenets of the sectaries; but the war, while it weakened both parties, still left him with some

shadow of power; and he might dread the too near neighbourhood of the Pasha of Egypt, and the effects of his becoming too strong.

It was not, therefore, reinforcement only that would be wanting, but some person of tried experience and conduct, to be associated with Tossoon in the command of the expedition; and, for this purpose, Mustapha Bey * was selected, his uncle by marriage, and sent with a body of cavalry to join him at Yambo.

Some months afterwards, however, the great Pasha himself, growing more and more anxious, and thinking that his own presence might best secure success to the

* "Oct. 1812. On alimentait l'armée d'Arabie de tous les renforts nécessaires en infanterie et cavalerie. Moustapha Bey, beaufrère du vicèroi, recut l'ordre de partir avec un corps de Dehlys."—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 396.

next campaign, determined upon going in person: arrangements were therefore promptly entered into for the administration of affairs at home in his absence; and all the disposable force collected for accompanying him, an early day being fixed for his departure.

I shall not fail, in the sequel, to speak of his great successes in their place; but must take up, in the mean time, the thread of my own adventures where I dropped it for this digression.

After my divorce, I remained stationary and quiet for some little time, taking all precaution and remedies for conquering that rheumatic affection which had so long been troublesome and painful to me; but I owe my recovery perhaps more than all, to the air and water of Cairo, which

have always agreed with me beyond all others.

So soon as I felt myself quite restored, I disliked remaining idle, and became eager again for some active employment; and there arrived just then a captain of an English cavalry regiment, sent over by his government to purchase some Egyptian horses; he brought with him a suite of twelve dragoons, and was treated with great consideration, as he had strong recommendations to all the authorities.

I no sooner heard of this stranger's arrival in Cairo, than I offered my services through a friend who had access to him; and being found in an interview to be tolerably conversant with the business, he gave me the commission to look out for horses of a certain standard, respecting

which I received his instructions, and agreed that I should have a scudo for every one that should be approved.

I succeeded in procuring for him, upon these terms, between thirty and forty, and received my pay accordingly; but he, seeming unwilling to part with me, pressed me to go down with him so far as Aboukir, where the whole stud (consisting not only of such as I had found for him, but of many others besides, collected by other agents) was to be embarked, and I made no difficulty in consenting.

But, before we set out, information having been received that the Arabs frequenting the district, through which we were to pass, had laid a plan for stealing the horses, it was thought advisable to apply to government, who appointed an

escort of about fifty soldiers, and made them responsible.

Notwithstanding which, in our way to Rosetta, we not only fell in with several lurking hordes, but attempts, in more than one instance, were actually made for carrying off their prey during the night.

We reached Aboukir, however, without any losses, and there put all safe on board; the officer, upon embarking himself, taking a kind leave of me, and rewarding me handsomely. It is matter of regret to me, that I am not now able to call his name to mind, since I would willingly have coupled it with the expression of my grateful recollections *.

* I know as little as the author who this British officer was; it is probable that he may have been sent from Malta, or perhaps from Sicily.

During the time that I have been speaking of, not only had Mahomet Ali taken his departure, but the career of his successes had already begun; so that when I reached Cairo on my return, I found it full of public rejoicings upon that account. For it appeared that the Pasha no sooner reached Lembi, than he carried forward his whole army at once to Jedeed Bogaz; and, finding it but feebly guarded, forced that pass, and sent a strong detachment through it to Medina, and then, turning himself to the coast, sailed for Djidda *,

* Mengin dates the landing of Mahomet Ali at Djidda (with a suite of only sixty persons) in August, 1813, but omits to speak of his previous landing at Jambo, and march to Jedeed Bogaz. It appears, from his account, that Tossoon and Mustapha Bey had met with successes, and that Medina had been in their hands, but that all the country had since revolted from them, which was the object of the Pasha's now coming in person;

from whence he made his way to Mecca almost immediately, where the Sheriff, seeing the power of his late confederates or oppressors (be they which they will) so humbled, and the ascendancy of that great man, who was now at his gates, so complete, thought it the wisest course to set them open, and to welcome him as a deliverer; and being left unmolested in his palace for some time after the occupation of the city, he began to flatter himself that his arts had succeeded.

But Mahomet Ali deceived the deceiver, for he laid a snare in a visit to which he invited him, and detained him a close prisoner from that hour, which was the

and, indeed, so often did the defile of Jedeed Bogaz change hands, according to the circumstances of the war, that we find it once more in the hands of the Arabs subsequent to June, 1814.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 27.

end of all his crooked policy and intrigues *.

It is held to be a sort of sacred ordinance that, let the occasion be what it may, no man must lay violent hands on the Sheriff of Mecca, a forbearance due to the guardian and minister of the temple of the Prophet, and the chief of all his posterity.

Had this superstitious reverence not existed, it can hardly be doubted that his head would have paid the forfeit of those relations which he had held with the enemies of the Porte †, and of his own double-

* Tossoon was the person who carried the plan into effect, and secured his person, according to Mengin, pleading (and actually exhibiting) an order from the Porte.—vol. ii., p. 3.

† Ali Bey says, "The Sultan Scherif was the natural and immediate sovereign; notwithstanding which, the Sultan of Constantinople was acknowledged there as supreme monarch, and mention was made of him in this

dealings; but the maxim was scrupulously adhered to, and his life spared, or reserved, at least, for the will of the Sultan.

He was sent off to Cairo under a strong escort *, and there lodged in the immediate custody of those three persons to whom the administration of the government had been principally committed, as a sort of regency, Ibrahim Bey, Hassan Pasha, the Albanian, and the Kiaha Bey (who had, moreover, specially the com-

quality in the sermons upon Fridays, even whilst Sahoud (the Wahabee) was reigning in the country with his troops.—vol. ii., p. 123.

* According to Mengin, vol. ii., p. 4, he was embarked at Djidda, and thence carried across to Copeir, and so to the Nile. He arrived at Old Cairo, December 4, 1813. The Kiayah Bey himself received him and lodged him as a sort of state-prisoner in his brother's house; from whence, after the receipt of an order respecting him from the Porte, he was sent to Salonica, where he died.

mand of the citadel): they were directed to forward the prisoner to Constantinople, and warned, that, since his person was of infinite importance, the charge should be consigned only to such hands as could be implicitly depended upon. A Mameluke of the Pasha's own household * was, therefore, pointed out by name in his despatch, as a proper person to be entrusted.

Since, however, it was not commanded that this removal should be immediate, the Regency, exercising a discretion, judged it best that the Sultan should have previous notice both of the great news from Arabia, and of the state-prisoner's arrival, that his pleasure might be known respecting him; and the Mameluke in question was ap-

* He had the office of "Anaktâr Aghasi," treasurer, or privy-purse, to the Pasha.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 9.

pointed to that mission accordingly *, which was punctually and ably discharged, and Salonica named by the Porte as the place of exile for the Sheriff.

So gratified had the Ottoman court been at the intelligence, and at the manner of its delivery, that presents and honours were showered in profusion upon the bearer of it, who returned from thence a Pasha of two Tails, with the name of Letif Pasha,

* Mengin dates Latiss's mission to Constantinople earlier, and represents it as being for the delivery of the keys of Medina.—vol. ii., p. 397. The account, however, of his proceedings at Cairo which gave umbrage—of the defence of his house—escape—and execution, agree in most material circumstances, and in some very minute ones, with the text.—vol. ii., pp. 6, 7, 8. A prediction is also mentioned, that a Dervish was said to have made to him of his being destined to the sovereignty of Egypt. Is it not most likely that he was in reality suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the Porte, which had conferred on him such disproportionate honours?

and was at once placed in a situation to make a great figure.

Such a leap from the condition of a simple Mameluke, soon quite turned his head; and he seemed to forget altogether both his origin and his obligations to those who had raised him, although so recent.

His insolence to all became intolerable, and towards inferiors he was guilty of many abuses of power.

Proceeding onwards in his folly from one step to another, he not only disgusted, but even seemed to set himself in open opposition to those three chiefs who were invested with his master's authority; his house became the known rendezvous of all the disaffected and discontented; and several of the small and obscure remnant of the old Mamelukes were observed to be in his con-

fidence: with such symptoms as these, that some plot was fomenting there can be no sort of doubt, though its nature, extent, and object might not be so precisely known, but personal ambition seems to have been at the bottom of it, and those who exercised the deputed power could hardly have been dispossessed, without the project of deposing the Pasha also. Yet it seems an unaccountable instance of infatuation and temerity that quite a new man, without any strong or definite party formed in the state, should think such attempts within his reach, and thus in a manner wantonly commit himself.

Foolish, however, and unadvised as the prime mover of the mischief seemed to be, such a conspiracy might yet become very formidable if suffered to ripen, and especially

in the absence of the ruler. Much credit is therefore due to the vigilance and promptitude of the Kiayah Bey (governor of the citadel), who, calling his colleagues together, laid the crisis before them, and recommended that strong and sudden measures should be taken for seizing the person of Letif the next day; to which both of them assented, and Ibrahim personally undertook the charge.

The delinquent was known to be too well upon his guard, and with much too numerous a retinue about him, to be taken without the risk of a strong resistance; in which case it had been determined to lay regular siege, and that neither his house, treasure, nor person should be spared.

Accordingly Letif's residence was invested, before daylight, with a large force;

and he, with his Mamelukes about him, prepared for a gallant defence—a brisk fire being opened and continued upon both sides, which threw the whole city into consternation and commotion; and since it seemed to be a sort of signal for tumult and party violence, it was made a pretext for many outrages in other quarters of the town.

After many hours of obstinate resistance from within, the soldiers of Ibrahim Bey prevailed at last, and forced their way, seizing upon everything that fell into their hands, whether arms, moveables, treasure, slaves, or women. But Letif Pasha was nowhere to be found.

This caused the greatest disappointment and uneasiness, since, without the possession of his person, nothing had been done. The

furniture, the floors, and even the very walls, were torn to pieces in the search after him, till it became evident that no hiding-place was left: the closest watch, however, was still kept, and every possible inquiry made, but in vain.

He had, as it afterwards appeared, leaped from the terrace-roof of his house upon terraces adjoining, and so had contrived to get access unobserved to the oven of a neighbour, in which he had secreted himself, with two of his faithful Mamelukes.

Ibrahim Pasha, surprised and mortified as he was, at not being able to discover him, yet felt confident that he could not possibly be far off, and went therefore himself with his guard in quest of him through all the houses of that quarter; and it did so happen that he actually passed

close in front of the very oven in which lay the object of all his anxiety; but it not appearing a place in which any man could lie, he did not stop to examine it. He had, however, taken the precaution to station soldiers in every spot which he had visited; and the outhouse in which was this oven, fell to the charge of one of his Albanians.

The conclusion of the adventure is sufficiently remarkable, for Letif Pasha, perceiving that it would be quite impossible to elude this sentry, posted so near him, resolved to try the effect of a bribe; and so came forward of himself from his hiding-place, the other making ready at the same time to seize him.

The offer was ready and at hand—a ring worn upon his finger, of immense value which so dazzled and tempted the Alba

nian, that he took it, and suffered the fugitive to go his way, with his two attendant Mamelukes, who were faithful to the last.

They had not, however, gone far, before they were seen by some of the other soldiers, and instantly secured by them—a service that was handsomely rewarded by the government, which was thus freed from a great uneasiness; and there was, indeed, a very general rejoicing when the capture was known.

Nothing now remained but the arrangements for a public execution, which, for the sake of example, had been resolved upon, and the citadel fixed upon as the scene; so that this fell within the department of the Kiayah Bey, who ordered that all the way thither should be lined with troops under arms, and the prisoner marched through

them, under an escort, in a sort of barbarous triumph, which occupied some time.

When he had reached the spot appointed for his execution, all firmness and manliness forsook him; and as he heard his sentence pronounced, and the signal even for his death-blow given, he made a last effort to obtain mercy in catching hold of the governor's sword-knot, who stood near him, and grasped it so fast, that the fingers could never be disengaged; so that it was cut through in order to remove him a few paces to a flight of steps that was near, where his head was struck off, which I afterwards saw exposed at the gate*.

Such was the miserable end of Letif Pasha, who died very little lamented by

* Bâb el Zoueyleh. *Mengin.*

any body; and I heard afterwards that Mahomet Ali expressed himself highly satisfied that a man at once so ungrateful and so dangerous had been put out of the way.

These transactions had, during a short interval, called off the attention in Cairo from the Arabian campaign; but recruits were still in demand, for not only the important cities now in our hands required large garrisons, but a formidable force still kept the field against us, and there were many strong places of inferior note to be reduced; consequently bodies of troops were sent off almost daily, as fast as they could be collected and enrolled.

I was myself already beginning to be weary of a life of inactivity; and the news of the successes, and the sight of these

large levies, inspired me with a strong desire of again entering the service, which (as I was seldom long in forming my resolutions) I did almost immediately, in a corps of Albanians that was just upon the point of setting out *.

I shall say nothing of our march to Suez, or voyage from thence by sea, since it would be simply a repetition; for we touched only at the usual points for supplies in the passage to Yambo, from whence we sailed for Djidda, which we reached in

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 15, speaks of this reinforcement of Albanians, in the early part of 1814, and of the taking of Konfodah, p. 17, to besiege which Zaim Oglou, governor of Djidda, as he styles him, was sent, with 2000 infantry and 1200 cavalry. This, therefore, was the force found there when these new Albanian regiments joined. The object for taking Konfodah, which he assigns to Mahomet Ali, was, "de tenter une expédition sur l'Yémen, afin d'opérer une diversion."

four days, but set forward again from thence to the southward, being destined for the siege of Confûta, in the neighbourhood of which we landed.

It is but a small village in itself, situated close down to the water's edge; but its principal point of strength consists in the appendage of a fort or castle, placed at one of its extremities, which, though constructed of mud only, and weak and crumbling in appearance, was yet solidly built, and calculated to make a stout defence; it was also well garrisoned, for great numbers of Wahabees, driven out from other places, had fled hither for refuge.

Upon our part, there were cantonments of soldiery scattered about in the neighbourhood, to the number of nearly two thousand, who were to keep the place in

check till that expected reinforcement, of which we made a part, should arrive, and give them strength sufficient to carry it by assault. They had, however, previous to our arrival, succeeded in crippling and annoying the enemy materially, by the capture of ten small vessels belonging to them, made use of in obtaining supplies from places in their correspondence.

The besieged no sooner saw an additional force disembarked, than they determined at once on their plan of defence; and seeing that it was impossible that the open village could hold out long against an attack, resolved to provision the castle to their utmost, and to rest all their hopes upon that; yet to defend themselves in their houses as long as they could, and not to shut themselves up till the last.

As in many other Arabian towns, there is no natural supply of water*; the nearest spring, which is that to which the inhabitants used to resort, being at the distance of three hours. The cisterns of the village had still a stock remaining in them, but there were no means of increasing or replenishing it.

The first care, therefore, of the Wahabees was to transport all this, and deposit it in a great reservoir within the castle, with a strict determination to put themselves on the lowest possible allowance, and

* "Konfodah est privé d'eau: la source où les habitans vont puiser celle dont ils se servent est à une lieue de distance."—vol. ii., p. 48. Mengin here understates the distance from the spring, and is not aware that any force at all had been stationed to protect it, but describes the loss of it, and the rout of the army, and panic at Konfodah, and the rush to the shipping, just as in the text.

not to consume one drop of it that might be spared.

This precautionary measure was so expeditiously effected, that it was finished before our numbers could be all drawn together and combined for the assault, though this was not delayed beyond the third day after our joining.

The Albanian Bey, whose name was Zaim Oglou, under whom I served, was first in command; and a very foremost and important post was assigned us in consequence, in the attack on the village, which was bravely and resolutely maintained against our whole force during several hours; but it was not tenable, and when it was perceived that we were gaining ground, and had even got some footing within it, at a sudden signal all retreated

at once into the castle, as had been arranged beforehand; and we, being now left masters of all the rest, turned our whole attention and efforts to dislodging them from thence, which promised to be no very easy matter: for though we took all advantages of ground, and brought all our cannon into full play, yet the whole fabric being of earth, or of unbaked brick, the balls only sunk into the walls and bastions, without further destroying them; and when, by order of our Bey-commandant, we approached for an assault, those within found means of directing a fire upon us, from their matchlocks and small field-pieces, through loop-holes scarcely perceptible, so as to do great execution amongst us, without our being able to do the smallest upon them in return; so that,

after two days spent in such attempts, all became dispirited, and we received orders to throw up works about the fortress, so as completely to blockade it, and starve the besieged to a surrender.

They themselves, however, brought the matter to a much speedier issue; for on the very day following (being the fourth), whether already become desperate from the actual want of provisions, or only at the near prospect of it (for little else was found in store besides the water), or whether they thought that they could perceive us to be off our guard at the moment, they determined on attempting a sortie, before our works should be completed round them.

It was fortunate that we gave way to them in the first instant, and let them

force a passage; for we not only got them thus between two fires (there being another detachment of our own beyond us), but were enabled also to secure the gate before it was closed after them, and so got possession of the castle.

But the resistance did not end here; for those who could expect no quarter, were resolved at least to sell their lives dearly; and from the smallness of the space, and closeness of contact among the parties, the savage scene of carnage became dreadful in the interior; not only the swords and knives, but even the very teeth and nails, of the combatants being made use of in their fury. Several of our soldiers were killed, or rather torn to pieces, in this horrid encounter; and not one found there upon the other side was left alive, though their number was very considerable.

A small portion of the best judging amongst them, aware that the project of holding out long was but a vain boast, had found means of withdrawing themselves secretly by the water-gate, during the very first night after they had taken refuge within the castle, and were all that escaped, whether of the garrison or population of the place.

But our Bey, blood-thirsty by disposition, and now exasperated, determined that not a single Wahabee should survive within his reach, and published, therefore, a reward of two hundred piastres* for

* At a somewhat later period of the war Mengin says, vol. ii., p. 121, "Ibrahim (Pasha) faisoit payer par son trésorier 50 piastres pour une tête, ou deux oreilles." Mahomet Ali had pursued a different course, for he "envoyait aussi des reconnaissances, en recommandant aux soldats de n'attaquer jamais, et de ne pas faire périr les prisonniers."—vol. ii., p. 19.

every ear or head of one that should be brought to him by his troops; upon which the Albanians, who are naturally greedy, went about in every direction to reap their bloody harvest. It was in vain for the younger, among the seized or suspected, to hope or plead for any mercy; but those more advanced, who were found lurking in their miserable huts, had their lives spared at the expense of their ears, which was a sort of compromise between avarice and compassion; and violences of this description were carried on for several days, until prohibited at last by authority.

It had been determined that Confûta should be maintained as a military post, and a garrison established there, which was divided into three portions: one occupying the castle, one quartered in the village,

and the third in cantonments, for escorting provisions and supplies, that would be necessary from time to time; the three different services being appointed to be taken by turns.

Much water, from that reservoir which had been filled with so much care, was expended in the mere cleansing and purifying of a scene of so much bloodshed, and the remainder was so little husbanded at first, that it soon failed entirely, and none could be had within a distance of less than three hours, besides the irksomeness of conveying it so far over a desert of loose sand.

The spring in question, however, was become a point of great importance, and since it was feared that it might be poisoned by the enemy, (whom we knew to be

scattered about, and now rather increasing in numbers in that direction,) a fixed guard was stationed there of two hundred men, who might protect it, and keep them in check; and the force appearing insufficient, it was augmented soon afterwards by almost an equal body of cavalry, who were sent from Mecca, but so much harassed by the journey and climate, that they were in no condition to be of much use, should any strong effort be made.

I had been myself at first included among those quartered in the village, but my turn came to be one of the water-guard, just before this inefficient reinforcement arrived.

The very morning after which, we heard, soon after daybreak, that the Wahabees, who had been collecting previously

in great force, at about seven miles distance, were advancing upon us, aware, no doubt, of the unserviceable condition of the new comers, and determined, therefore, to allow them no time for becoming formidable.

We ourselves, equally sensible of this disadvantage, and of our inadequacy to the contest in a numerical point of view, sent off an express to ask for additional strength from the castle; but the time required for the journey of the messenger, and for the ordering and march of the troops sent off to our assistance, was so considerable, that we were constrained to come to action before they could reach us.

When the enemy got in sight, they seemed shy at first, and continued skirmishing at a short distance, as if to ascer-

tain the real condition of our force; but as it must have been soon plain to all how much we were outnumbered, they began their attack.

Our cavalry, so unfit for action as it was, could do but little, and no sooner was it hotly pressed, than it gave way and took to flight; but the two hundred infantry, nevertheless, stood their ground manfully, in the expectation of being momentarily relieved, or reinforced; but after near three-fourths of them had been killed, the small remainder was at last compelled to fly, the Wahabees still pursuing and cutting them down, so that very few of them indeed made good their retreat.

Yet although the issue of their obstinate and protracted resistance was, as it proved, so disastrous, it had, in point of fact, given

ample time for those sent to our succour from Confûta to have arrived, had nothing intervened to deter them; for they were not only on their march, but actually near us, when the mounted fugitives most unfortunately met them, and representing all as already lost, and their pursuers close at hand, by their confused and terrified accounts spread such a panic, that the whole body at once turned back again, and joined them in their flight, carrying with them into the garrison the contagion of the same blind apprehensions, which had such an effect there, that all, conceiving the exaggerated numbers to be quite irresistible, and dreading above all things to be shut up now that water was cut off from them, with one impulse made a rush towards the shipping, that they might secure themselves, and escape by sea.

For my own part, I had been one of those foot soldiers who had maintained the combat, near the spring, so long as there were any to make head with me, and, when the complete rout began, was endeavouring to escape, with a few more, as well as I could; but in the precipitation of flight I lost my shoes in the loose sand, the scorching heat of which soon blistered the soles of my feet to that degree, that I was unable to proceed at all, and was actually flinging myself down in despair, with no other resolution but to die, when by chance one of our cavalry troop passed very close to me—one of those doubtless who in the first hurry of the flight had gone wide of the track, and had just recovered the traces of his companions.

His speed was not so great as he pro-

bably wished it, for the horse was jaded, yet the sight gave me courage, and I collected strength enough to run after, though I was not able to leap up behind, so that I caught fast hold first of the stirrup, and afterwards of the tail; but the soldier either in his haste mistaking me for an enemy, or thinking that I impeded his escape, turned round, and fired. I had no breath for entreaty, so I only stooped and evaded the bullet, without quitting my grasp, which still served to pull me along. Yet in my rage I had contrived to snatch out my own pistol, and both fired and flung it at him, though quite without effect. I was thus hurried and dragged along for a great many hundred yards, and the incident had certainly the effect of saving my life, for it gave a new turn to my spirits and energies,

and I found myself all at once also (though still distant) in sight of Confûta, and with difficulty persevered in crawling thither.

All appeared in the utmost confusion, both in the castle and the village, the vessels already swarming with troops, and others wading to them eagerly, or hurrying down with bundles and luggage. There was nobody in a state to be inquired of, or to answer me, so I got to the beach, and there, not knowing what else to do, or which way to turn, followed the example of the rest, and threw my clothes off that I might swim on board.

Our commandant's bloody edict had been revoked some time, so that a considerable number of prisoners had been brought in of late, or sent to us from other places, who were embarked on board some

of the craft as prison ships, and it so happened that inadvertently I made my way to one of these; but no sooner did I raise my hands from the water against the side, for the purpose of climbing into it, than the Wahabee captives, full of hope and spirits at what they saw, and ready as it seemed to seize their opportunity, or else dreading some violence, struck a blow at me with some sharp and heavy instrument, that brought the blood after it in great quantities. I lost for a time all sense, and can hardly conceive by what lucky accident I was saved from drowning.

When, however, I came to myself, I found that I had been drawn up into a vessel that was occupied by my comrades, who had been revenging the outrage upon me, by a brisk discharge of their fire-arms;

and, owing to the crowded state of the little prison ship, had done great execution.

I lay there so weak, and in such a state of stupor, that I had no part in a last rallying effort which the Bey commandant made to save this important post from the enemy.

He had unquestionably himself great personal bravery; and feeling quite ashamed and irritated at the dastardly spirit that had shewn itself, gave out that if none would follow him he would expose himself alone; and so, by shaming some, and encouraging others, collected all the most forward among the troops and led them again on shore, where he posted them advantageously upon ground commanding in some measure the land-approach.

But when the Wahabees appeared, it

became evident that the delay in this advance (for it was not till the day following that of our defeat) had been employed to great purpose in augmenting their numbers; for they were now really become such as quite to overwhelm, what might be considered, comparatively, a mere handful opposed to them, so that there was a great loss upon our side; and the remainder, after exploding our powder magazine, were driven to take refuge again on board, whilst the enemy repossessed themselves of Confûta.

Upon embarkation, it had been intended that our little fleet should continue hovering near the spot, that we might take advantage of the very first opportunity for driving them out, since their provisions were not likely to suffice for a large perma-

nent garrison; but a well directed fire from both their cannon and muskets made it quite impossible for us to lie close into shore in that neighbourhood, or to have effected any landing, had we wished it. We were therefore ordered to remove to Lid, another town or village with a castle attached to it, situated about an hour from the coast, and in our possession; we sailed therefore for the nearest point, and there landing, marched for our new quarters accordingly, where we found ourselves without any settled plan for ulterior operations.

Our reverses must have been a cruel disappointment to Mahomet Ali*; and he

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 18. "Le viceroi étoit consterné lorsqu'il connut ce désastre. En effet cette déroute et la défaite de Tarabé qui se suivirent preque dans le même tems, étoient accablantes pour lui." It will be seen, in

who had himself so much the art not only of commanding success, but of securing and profiting by it when obtained, might well reproach both leaders and men in this instance as unworthy of all military confidence.

The extreme imprudence of the Bey was much blamed, amongst other things, in having suffered great part of the troops to remain panic-struck on board, and in having led a detachment only, against the full force of the enemy; but in answer to this, it must be admitted that we should still have been inferior to them notwithstanding, and that it was essential to leave some in charge of the shipping and the prisoners.

the narrative of our author, that about three months or more must have intervened between the defeat at Conſûta, and that at Taraba.

Discussions of this sort took place even among the soldiers themselves, who, murmuring, and becoming discontented with a leader in whom they had no confidence, it was only by the fear of throwing every thing into disorder, and by the difficulty of traversing a country unknown to most of them, that they were induced to remain quietly where they were.

Meantime it being necessary that the Bey himself should send official intelligence, he took the precaution to give his despatches to such officers as he thought most implicated in the disaster, that they might represent the matter in as favourable a light as it would bear.

Four was the number thus selected to be sent to Mecca, who were all supposed

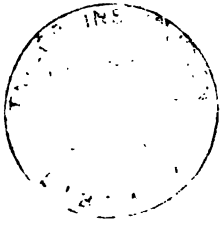
also to have interest and good friends at court.

As they were setting off, it was a curious sight to see how the soldiers thronged round them, every one begging to be well reported at head-quarters, and pouring out his individual professions of good conduct and intrepid courage.

They could not be repressed or silenced, for the spirit of insubordination was already amongst them, and soon increased so much, that several bodies of troops chose out spots for themselves, and encamped quite apart, waiting, as they gave out, till they should have a new commander set over them.

And here, as I close this chapter, I trust that the details which I give of this war

will not be deemed too minute, when the reader recollects that I am not attempting to give any general picture of it, but only of such facts and circumstances as fell within my own observation, and form incidents in my own life.



CHAPTER V.

Desertion—Thirst and sufferings—Mecca—The Kaaba—Pilgrims—Ceremonies—Vale of Arafat—Sacrifice—Interview with Mahomet Ali—Journey to Taifa—Djibbel Kara—Tossoon Pasha defeated at Taraba—His Camp at Ciulla—Barusce—Ill success and retreat—Two Wahabee Chiefs taken, and executed—The enemy combine—Mahomet Ali expected in the Camp.

TOWARDS the end of the last chapter I spoke of the departure of the four officers, sent from Lid to Mahomet Ali Pasha, and of the state of anxious suspense in which the troops there were waiting, to know what could be done, and who would be set over them.

As to their present condition, there was no sort of order or discipline amongst

them, and the continual annoyance which they were exposed to from the enemy made their existence both uncomfortable and precarious, so that I heartily wished myself with any other portion of the army. Not a day passed without our being more or less engaged with the Wahabees, who were collected about us in great numbers, so as in a manner to surround our position, which was not even in itself a very strong one.

With respect to cavalry we had none, for, when we fled from Confûta, they all left us, and made their escape by land, so we saw no more of them, nor even knew where they were, but supposed them at Mecca.

We were suffering cruelly from the want of provisions, of water especially, so doubly

necessary in that parched and burning climate. The wells were at a great distance from us, and could not be approached without the utmost risk; but what was yet worse, they were rendered disgusting and unwholesome by the number of bodies of our dead comrades, which the enemy had thrown into them for the purpose.

There was no remedy for this evil, for we could neither discover other springs as a substitute, nor so purify them as to make them tolerably potable; and some among the soldiers nauseated such a beverage to that degree, that they preferred to die for want rather than continue it.

A great many deserted: so many, that the ranks were very materially thinned, and especially of the corps which I myself belonged to.

Nay, in a state of so much misery, I began to envy those who had taken that course, and was even preparing to follow their example: not that the step, on my part at least, had the character of a complete desertion, since I intended to join the main body of the army.

I took care, therefore, to provide whatever I thought I should stand in need of, and especially a skin, which might contain water for me in my flight.

If ever there was a resolution conceived and acted upon in despair, it was this; for I was to set out alone, a foreigner in an enemy's country, with which I was unacquainted, in a torrid climate, and very poorly supplied with the common necessaries of life; but at the time of lifting my wallet and water-skin on my shoulder,

I thought of nothing but the condition of wretchedness that I was escaping from.

Knowing nothing of the way, I thought of searching for the track * of the cavalry, who had withdrawn from Confûta, and followed that, when I had once found it, in the hope that it might lead me to Mecca, which was the point that I had fixed upon.

Often and often as I toiled along, through all the sufferings, and privations and terrors of that miserable journey, did

* When the sand of the desert is not very loose, it will retain the print of whatever passes over it for a very long while; in my own journey to Mount Sinai, in August, 1815, I was astonished to see tracks of wheels on some part of the way near Suez, and could not account for the appearance, till informed at Cairo, that the principal persons in the haram of the Pasha had returned by that route in European carriages three months before.

I feel that life was not worth preserving at such a price, and that mine was become no better than a burthen to me.

At other times I could still contrive to cheer myself, in looking to better days, and felt a longing desire for Italy, which had hardly been so present to me as now since I first left it; for my imagination even went so far as to call up the image, and the very voices of my father and mother to me, and of all my near connexions, and so threw me again into a fresh train of sorrow.

It was thus that my days and nights passed, as I proceeded upon a track to which I was an utter stranger, through a region that was destitute of every thing.

In the mean time, the supply of water

which I had taken with me was exhausted, and though I met with wells every now and then, from whence I could have drawn some, yet, upon approaching, I always found the same pestilential smell, and the same loathsome spectacle of the carcasses of soldiers thrown in by the Wahabees.

Driven, however, by thirst at last quite to desperation, I arrived one evening at the brink of a well so deep, that its contents were far beyond my reach, and for this reason perhaps it had not been thought worth while to taint its waters.

I took the expedient of forming a rope out of my sash and turban, and of all my clothes, even to my very shirt, which I stripped off for the purpose, and attaching the water skin to this, I let it down into

the well, and, in the space of about two hours, succeeded in filling it.

My thirst was thus allayed, but the quenching it only brought on a violent paroxysm of hunger, which, as all my provisions were at an end, I had not the means of satisfying.

It was now night, and the country in every direction a desert; so that there appeared no hope of my being able to save my life excepting by a forced march; accordingly I pressed forwards all night long, and, just at the dawn of day, I could perceive that upon some heights near me there were fires burning.

I hesitated at first in the thought of going up to them, but, starving as I was, to persist in going forward, was only to

proceed to certain death, and making my choice between the two perils, I determined to turn aside to them at all risks, even though those heights should be a position of the enemy.

Fortune favoured me in this instance, and I found myself in a far better situation than I had any right or reason to have expected.

For those who were lighting their fires there were a company of Bedouin Arabs, a race not generally very friendly, it is true, to the Egyptian soldiery*, having suffered

* Mengin speaks frequently of the hostility of the Bedouins, especially vol: ii., p. 19, and the pains taken to conciliate them; but vol. ii., p. 143, assigns a much baser motive for their being brought over to a more pacified disposition; "l'or et les présens furent prodigués aux chefs de tribus, qui ne respiraient que de la vengeance."

much during the war from the loss of cattle and property, and the greater part of them originally rather in the interest of the Wahabees than in ours; yet I threw myself on their hospitality, and they, seeing that I was in want, and ready to sink, without inquiring further, did me a thousand kind offices, and proceeded afterwards in the course of conversation to tell me, that they were quite weary of the disordered state of the country, and that the Pasha of Egypt, as the only person who could put an end to it, had their best wishes.

This was so encouraging, that I thought I might trust them further, and accordingly made it no secret that my object was to proceed to Mecca. Upon which they pressed me to continue in their company

as far as a spot which was their own destination, within four hours of the city.

They shewed me every possible mark of kindness and friendly feeling, and supplied me with all the refreshments that I could want, making bread, and drawing milk, on purpose for me; and not only so, but mounted me on one of their own camels, which appeared a great luxury, after the toilsome march that I had hitherto made on foot.

In this manner we got the next day to the place which they had fixed for their halt, and there parting from them with the kiss of peace, and taking again to my feet, after a march of about four hours, I reached Mecca, which I had so long and ardently been desirous of seeing.

Exulting in my escape, my mind was in

a state to receive very strong impressions, and I was much struck with all that I saw upon entering the city: for though it is neither large, nor beautiful in itself, there is something in it that is calculated to impress a sort of awe, and it was the hour of noon, when every thing is very silent, except the Muezzims calling from the minarets.

The reader will perhaps forgive me if I pause a moment here in my narrative, to give some account, however imperfect, of such objects as particularly took my attention.

The principal feature of the city is that celebrated sacred inclosure which is placed about the centre of it; it is a vast paved court, with doorways opening into it from every side, and with a covered colonnade,

carried all round like a cloister, while in the midst of the open space stands the edifice, called the Kaaba, whose walls are covered entirely over on the outside with hangings of black velvet *, on which there are Arabic inscriptions embroidered in gold.

Facing one of its angles (for this little edifice is of a square form†) there is a well which is called the well Zemzem, of which the water is considered to be so peculiarly holy, that some of it is even sent annually to the Sultan at Constantinople; and no person who comes to Mecca, whether on pilgrimage, or for more worldly consi-

* Black *cloth*, according to Ali Bey, and I believe he is correct.

† Ali Bey, who took a rough admeasurement, says that it is not a correct square, no two sides corresponding exactly.

derations, ever fails both to drink of it, and to use it in his ablutions*, since it is supposed to wipe out the stain of all past transgressions.

There is a stone also near the bottom of the building itself †, which all the visitants kiss as they pass round it, and the multitude of them has been so prodigious as to have worn the surface quite away.

Quite detached, but fronting to the Kaaba, stand four pavilions, (corresponding to the four sects of the Mahometan religion,) adapted for the pilgrims: and though the concourse had of late years been from time to time much interrupted, there arrived, just when I came to Mecca,

* See Ali Bey's account of the immense quantity of water-vessels kept for its distribution, p. 82.

† There is a print in his works of the Black Stone, which is that here spoken of.

two caravans of them, one Asiatic, and one from the African side, the two together amounting to not less than about forty thousand persons, who all seemed to be full of reverence towards the holy place *.

Such an influx of strangers, added to the garrison kept there by our Pasha, (which was in itself pretty numerous,) tended prodigiously to throng this little Arabian city; and its accommodations becoming quite insufficient to lodge a multitude so much exceeding the usual average, the greater part passed the night outside the walls in tents, or huts, or on the bare ground; and so during the day time resorted in crowds to the place of devotion.

There arose also of course an extraordi-

* Ali Bey says that in 1807 there were 80,000 men went to Arafat, 2000 women, and 1000 children.—vol. ii. p. 52.

nary demand for all sorts of provisions and necessaries, which were in consequence sold at the most extravagant prices *; but this seemed to diminish nothing of the fervour and zeal of the visitants, nor at all to shorten their stay.

Over and above the general ceremonies of the purification at the well, and of the kissing of the corner-stone, and of the walking round the Kaaba a certain number of times in a devout manner †, every one has also his own separate prayer to put up, and so to fulfil the conditions of his vow, and the objects of his particular pilgrimage ‡.

* Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 97.—All the provisions are dear, except meat.

† Seven times, according to Ali Bey, and kiss the black stone in the seventh tour.—vol. ii., p. 52.

‡ Ali Bey pretends to have made and observed a

Both within and without the circuit of the sacred inclosure, there is an immense quantity of pigeons, which are considered to be in some measure under the special protection of the Prophet, and consequently no person presumes to kill or to molest them; but many bring with them, even from the most distant countries, some small quantity of grain, with which they may take the opportunity of feeding these birds *.

Now that we are speaking of the superstitions and ceremonies of the place, I would mention that all the observances are by no means completed within the city.

particular vow of chastity, from the very moment of his setting out upon his journey in Morocco, which I conceive to be very unusual.

* Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 117.—The number of pigeons is immense; they belong to no particular person, but fly freely about, and build their nests upon the roofs of the houses and holes in the walls.

For the pilgrims, after having performed their devotions for a certain time at the Kaaba, at last in a sort of procession go to a place called Arafat, an eminence which stands detached in the centre of a valley; and in the way thither there is a part of the road, for about the space of a mile, where it is customary to run—a practice for which I could not learn any better reason than that ancient tradition and usage have made it essential *.

The road also passes near a spot where was formerly a well, which is superstitiously supposed to be something unholy, and cursed by the prophet himself; and, for this reason, every pilgrim as he goes by it, throws a stone; and the custom is

* From Ali Bey's account, it should seem that the running was in the return from Arafat, directly after sunset.—vol. ii., p. 70.

so universal, and has prevailed so long, that none can now be picked up in the neighbourhood, and it is necessary, therefore, to provide them from a distance; and some persons even bring them out of their own remote countries, thinking thereby to gain the greater favour in the sight of heaven *.

Beyond this point stands a column †, which is set up as the extreme limit of the pilgrimage, and this every pilgrim must have passed before sunrise. While all such as have not gone beyond it by that

* Ali Bey mentions, in his road to Alifat, a fountain at Mina), in front of which is an ancient edifice, said to have been built by the devil; each pilgrim threw seven pebbles, the size of peas, picked up the night before at Mosdelifa.—p. 71.

† Ali Bey calls it a little stone pillar, about six feet high and two square, considered a work of the devil.—vol. ii., p. 72.

time must wait till the next year, if they wish to be entitled to the consideration and privileges of complete Hadjees, since, without this circumstance, all the rest remains imperfect.

The hill of Arafat lying at a distance of no less than seven hours from Mecca, it is necessary to set out very early, in order to be there in time; many of the pilgrims, and especially the more devout amongst them, performing all the way on foot.

When they have reached the place, all who have any money, according to their means, sacrifice one or more sheep; and the rich often furnish those who are poor and destitute with the means of buying one.

Such a quantity of sacrifices quite fills

the whole open space with victims, and the poor flock from all the country round, to have meat distributed to them.

After which, at the conclusion of the whole ceremony, all the names are registered by a scribe, appointed for the purpose; and when this is finished, the African and Asiatic caravans part company, and return to their own several countries: many detachments of the pilgrims visiting Medina in the way.

The reader will, it is hoped, pardon this digression, since I was present myself at all that I describe, and have thought that some slight notice of the course pursued in this famous pilgrimage would not appear to be out of place.

I now return to my own particular adventures: and what I first have to mention

is, that I had been in Mecca but a very few days, when I expressed to a friend, whom I found there, that I had a strong desire to speak with Mahomet Ali Pasha, and to tell him that I was one of those who had survived and escaped from the disasters of Confûta; that I came to throw myself under his protection, and to beg to be enrolled in some new division of his army.

There was, however, so much difficulty in obtaining personal access to him, that I determined on adopting the course which had been sometimes previously resorted to with success: that is to say, having got a memorial written for me in the Turkish language, I took it in my hand, and stood, holding it up directly facing one of the windows of the house which the Pasha

occupied *, hoping that, as he sometimes looked out that way, he might see me, and call me to him.

The house in question joined on to the inclosure of the great Temple, and one of the windows looking into the court, it was opposite to that particular spot where I posted myself with my paper. It was not, however, until after I had stood in this manner during the greater part of six days, that I at last succeeded in catching the Pasha's eye; who sent for me, and read the memorial †; upon which he fell into

* This is a common custom at Constantinople; it is seldom that the Sultan appears in public, but that such petitioners may be seen with their paper held above their head, which is sent for as soon as it attracts the observation of the sovereign.

† It is said that he has been taught both writing and reading since he acquired the sovereignty of Egypt.

the greatest rage imaginable; for, as it appeared, he had been informed but very imperfectly (so cautious had been the language of the despatches, and of the officers charged with them) of the failure and disasters at Confûta, and desired me to give him, for the first time, a detailed account of them.

He listened to me with the most patient attention, throwing in very acute questions every now and then; and when I proceeded to state my own destitute condition, he said that I ought to have gone on at once to Taif *, where I should have found

* Taif had been taken possession of a good while before by Mustapha Bey and Tossoon Pasha—*Mengin*, vol. i. p. 400; and afterwards was made the grand depôt for the army, and five thousand infantry, one thousand horse, and six pieces of artillery stationed there under Tossoon.—vol. ii. p. 10.

other regiments, in which I might have been enrolled: and upon this he gave me five hundred piasters to supply my immediate wants, and the expenses of the journey, and ordered me to set out without fail on the very next day, charging me strictly, at the same time, to tell no one in the interim how it came about that I was at Mecca, since it was of importance that no reverse or check should become generally talked of.

Having provided myself with what would be necessary, I set out, and, after a journey of several days, reached Taif, the place of my destination.

Before I take up my story at Taif, I will return to Mecca once more for a moment, to add some singular particulars which escaped me in my account of it, and

I would also say something of my journey from Mecca to Taif.

Many of the pilgrims go through the ceremony of making the entire circuit of the city upon the outside, and the order in which this is performed is as follows *:— The devotee first goes without the gates, and, after presenting himself there to the religious officer who presides, throws off all his clothes, and takes a sort of large wrapping garment in lieu of them to cover himself; upon which he sets off, walking at a very quick pace, or rather running, to

* The scene of this running of the pilgrims seems to be somewhat differently laid by Ali Bey, who says, "these being completed, there are a number of barbers in waiting to shave the pilgrims' heads, which they do very quickly." But he says that, in their manner of shaving, some alteration was made by the Wahabees at that time in authority, and therefore probably in the place also.

reach the nearest of the four corners of the city, a sort of guide going with him at the same rate all the way, who prompts certain ejaculations or prayers which he ought to make at particular spots as he passes; at every angle he finds a barber, who, with wonderful quickness, wets and shaves one quarter of his head: and so on, till he has reached the barber at the fourth angle, who completes the work. After which the pilgrim takes his clothes again, and has finished that act of devotion.

There is also near the holy city, an eminence called the Hill of Light *, as I

* A view is given in Ali Bey, vol. ii. plate 48, of Djebbel Nor, the Mountain of Light, but he could not visit it, it being specially prohibited by the Wahabees as a superstition. It was on this mountain that the angel Gabriel brought the first chapter of the Koran to the Prophet.

imagine, from its remarkable whiteness. Upon this the pilgrims have a custom of leaping, while they repeat, at the same time, prayers and verses of the Koran. Many also resort to a lesser hill, about a mile distant from the city, on which there is a small mosque, which is reputed as a place of great sanctity.

An annual ceremony takes place in the great temple itself, which is worth mentioning before I quit the subject altogether.

I have already spoken of the little square building, whose walls are covered with hangings of black and gold, and which is called the Kaaba. Once in the year, and once only, this holy of holies is opened *,

* Sometimes open three days, according to Ali Bey, (*Mengin*, vol. ii. p. 53,) who went into it, and says nothing of the supposed conditions annexed.

and as there is then nothing to prevent admission, it appears surprising at first to see so few who are willing to go into the interior, and especially since this act is supposed to have great efficacy in the remission of all past sins. But the reason must be sought for in the conditions which are annexed, since he who enters is, in the first place, bound to exercise no gainful trade or pursuit, nor to work for his livelihood in any way whatever; and next he must submit patiently to all offences and injuries, and must never again touch any thing that is impure or unholy.

Since it is not easy to find in the same person sufficient competence, with sufficient forbearance at the same time, and self-denial to fulfil these conditions, the number who enter the Kaaba is very

limited. Those who are disposed to smile at such superstitions, may recollect, that the conditions under which a novice enters upon any of the monastic orders in Italy differ little from these, except in being stricter and more binding; yet what numbers are always ready to profess in them! Is this from a greater indifference there to the pleasures of this life, or from a more assured confidence in the reward, or from a more lax interpretation and observance of the vow? I have not myself seen enough of European monasteries to be able to answer this question.

One more remark, with reference to the great scene of sacrifice at Arafat:—Though the Pasha's power in Arabia had been now for some time established, yet it was not complete or universal, by any means,—the

Wahabees still retaining, upon many sides, a very considerable footing, so that open and unprotected places, even within half a day's journey of Mecca, might be liable to surprise and violence.

This rendered both the resort to Arafat, and the ceremonies there, a matter of some hazard, and the more so, since the enemy knew perfectly well, that if they should fall on the pilgrims during these religious rites, they would find them not only unarmed, but even bound also by their law to employ no violence in their defence.

For these reasons the Pasha had judged it necessary, upon this occasion, to send a sufficient force to surround the district upon all sides*, so as to cover it completely

* In 1807, the Wahabees seem to have taken the same precaution.—See Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 69.

from all risk of attack, and it is owing, perhaps, to that precaution that such prodigious multitudes both went and returned without molestation or insult.

I will now say a few words respecting my journey to Taif*, which I made in a party of soldiers sent to escort a supply of provisions for that garrison.

In the way, it is necessary to pass over a ridge of mountains called Djibbel Kara, one of the highest that I have ever seen †; but the heat, which is intense at that season of the year, was such, that no attempt was made on our part until after sun-set,

* Mengin writes Tayef, Ali Bey, Taif, and says that it is included in the province of Hedjaz, but not in the Beled el Haran, or Holy Land.—vol. ii., p. 126.

† The highest mountains, Ali Bey says, are those of Medina and Taif, which towns are situated upon a bountiful land, with plenty of water, and covered with gardens and plantations.—vol. ii., p. 126.

to begin the ascent, though become comparatively easy of late; for till the last campaign this mountain had been only passable for men on foot, the broken ground and the precipices being such that beasts of burthen could not climb over them; but Mahomet Ali had, in his enlarged views, ordered a practicable road to be made, which was now completed, so that we went over conveniently enough, both on horses and camels.

The nights in those countries not being so thick and dark as in more northern climates, the traveller can pretty clearly distinguish all the objects upon his road.

Yet, notwithstanding, we had the precaution of a guide who led the way, carrying a light in his hand, which was of little other use than as a signal for keeping us together.

Seated comfortably, meanwhile, upon my camel, as our progress upwards was but slow, I had ample opportunity for observing the nature and aspect of that mountain, which is mostly cultivated, as well as abounding with fruit trees; and among the singularities which it presents is a multitude of the ape or monkey tribe, which I had not seen or heard of in other parts of Arabia.

At daybreak, we already thought ourselves close upon the highest point, but yet employed two hours more before we had fully attained it; and the heat having become by that time too great for us to commence our descent on the other side, we dismounted, and lay under some trees upon the flat table-land which forms the

summit, near some cool springs of water which are found there in abundance, and from whence we could see the Red Sea very plainly, which appeared, from this great elevation, as if close below, though in reality at the distance of three days' journey.

Not setting forward again till about sun-set, it was just dawn when we got the first view of Taif, which was delightful and refreshing to us all; for, though very small in itself, it is so surrounded with gardens, and with odoriferous plants, that the air is quite perfumed to a very considerable distance *.

* Tâyef (says Mengin in a note) est une assez belle ville située au pied de la montagne de Khâra; son territoire est fertile; c'est le jardin de la Mekke, dont elle n'est éloignée que de deux journées.—vol. ii., p. 11.

The sun had only risen about three hours, when we reached the village, and a closer inspection did not destroy the predilection which I felt for its situation. I soon found out an officer of my acquaintance who was in an inferior command there, who proposing to me that I should attach myself to his regiment, I willingly consented, and thus became actually enrolled among his men on the first day after my arrival.

Two months, however, passed away here quite without incident, till at the end of that time, in consequence of orders from head-quarters, the remains of the routed army of Confûta and Lid were sent to join us, and it was a great joy to me to meet again with my old companions.

My former commandant*, who had supposed me dead, was very much rejoiced to find himself mistaken, and ordered my pay to be allowed to me for all the time that I had been absent, and insisted upon my returning under his command; so that for a time I was receiving double pay, one from the garrison of Taif, and the other as belonging to my old regiment.

Things, however, continued in this state only for a very short time, owing to fresh orders received from Mahomet Ali Pasha, that we should proceed to Ciulla †, which we did in less than a week afterwards.

* I do not know whether Zain Oglou is meant here or some inferior officer. Zain was, according to Mengin, after a time, in spite of his disgraceful discomfiture, reinstated in the government of Djidda.

† This is written Koulakh by Mengin, (vol. ii., p. 11,)

It is in itself a very small and poor village, consisting only of a few clay huts in the middle of the desert; but we found that Tossoon Pasha was encamped there, and had occupied that position for a considerable time: we became, therefore, incorporated in the large force under his command, and took our station in his camp.

He, as general-in-chief of this division of the army, had with him here about three thousand men, between infantry and cavalry, and had suffered considerably in

who says that Tossoon was directed to go thither from Tayef by his father, for the purpose of attacking the Wahabees at Taraba, and after remaining at Koulakh. "pleusieurs jours" was obliged rather to precipitate his attempt, "voyant qu'il ne restait des vivres que pour dix jours."

various encounters which he had had with the enemy, who had found means at intervals to annoy him upon every side.

So far, however, were these reverses from damping the ardour of the young commander, that they only served to increase his eagerness for striking a decisive blow; and for this the moment seemed to be now arrived. For at this time the greater part of the force of the Wahabees was concentrated at Taraba, a village, with a castle, distant no more than two marches from Ciulla.

A woman, named Gallia, commanded there in chief, who had acquired a great name, and, like the heroines of old romances, always led her troops on in person; it was also under her active directions

that they were doing all that they could to fortify themselves in Taraba *. Upon hearing which Tossoon Pasha, who was bent on dislodging them, removed his quarters, and took up a nearer position, in the hope of disturbing them; but we found on arrival that their garrison had already thrown up a rampart, or wall, of earth and stones, pierced here and there with loops, through which they could fire on their assailants with great effect, and were exposed in return to very little hazard; so that, in all the attempts on our part to annoy or surprise the enemy, we made little or no progress, and yet suffered very serious loss; and, besides those killed

* Mengin calls 'Taraba,' "place très forte et par sa situation, et par les travaux qu'il avait ordonnés."—vol. ii., p. 11.

round the fortifications, numbers were also intercepted by skirmishing parties, as they went for provisions and necessaries.

But the difficulty of getting water was the most grievous misfortune of all, for there was none in all that district, excepting what was close under the very walls of Taraba*, and commanded by the musketry from the village; yet there being

* Mengin, vol. p. i. 405, speaking of Taraba, says, "Cette place étoit fortifiée; des champs de dattiers, environnés de fossés remplis d'eau, la couvraient de deux lieues de circonférence. Dès que les soldats virent paraître l'ennemi, ils sortirent pour le combattre: une héroïne les commandoit, c'étoit Ghâliah, femme du cheykh de la tribu de Solayh. Cette brave Amazone attaqua la division de Moustapha Bey, et la mit en fuite." This attempt by Moustapha Bey, who was sent back upon it to Egypt, for having been defeated by a woman, was prior to Tossoon's, and may therefore possibly have been about contemporary with other disasters at Confûta.—See the last note to Chapter iv., vol. i.

absolutely no alternative for us but to draw it there, we were daily buying it with our blood. It appeared, therefore, that we must either retreat again from our post, or do something decisive, and Tossoon's determination leaning, as usual, to the more daring side, after having in vain endeavoured to draw out the enemy, to try the chance of a battle, gave orders for a general assault*.

* "Les vivres ayant manqué, il ordonna de couper les dattiers pour en manger la moëlle, et de prendre la ville d'assaut."—*Mengin*, vol. p. ii. 13. But he says nothing of the actual attempt and failure of the assault, but represents the whole army retreating in the night, and then adds, "Lorsque les Wahabys, commandés par Fehêd Ebn-chakbân, furent instruits de cette retraite ils se mirent à la poursuite des Turcs. Le Pacha ordonna alors de brûler les tentes et les équipages. Vers le matin, ils revenoient hardiment et prirent deux pièces d'artillerie," and cut the army to pieces "jusqu'à son arrivée à Koulakh."

This was undertaken with infinite resolution on the part of his troops, but it was sustained with equal firmness on the part of the besieged, who, perceiving that they had the advantage over us in point of numbers, after repelling us from their ramparts, while the troops were yet in disorder, poured out in all their strength upon us, and put the whole expedition to the rout. The slaughter was dreadful; and Tossoon, seeing no hope of saving anything from the camp which we had lately occupied, burned all in his retreat, and fled to his old position, the enemy pursuing all the way, and hanging upon the rear with such effect, that, upon our return to Cuilla, of about three thousand men who had marched from thence on that expedi-

tion, not more than five or six hundred came back*.

Here we re-occupied a portion of our former ground, and, to prevent the hazard of our being driven out of it in our present reduced state, began immediately to throw up works about it, the enemy continuing very near us all the while, during which Tossoon Pasha had informed his father of his ill success and of his present condition, and, consequently, began very soon to receive reinforcements sent from head-quarters; who, dropping in day after day, the numbers at Cuilla became at last again

* " Après sa retraite de Tarabé, Toussoun Pacha vint à Koulakh, où il demeura quelques jours; de-là il se rendit à Tayef. Dans le rapport qu'il fit à son père il lui annonçait que la disette des vivres avait été la seule cause du mauvais succès de l'expédition," &c.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 16.

very considerable. Mahomet Ali had, however, determined that he would place himself at the head of the next expedition against Taraba, to take his revenge for the disgrace and losses which had been sustained there by his favourite son: but just at the time when the great Pasha was expected day after day, I was myself one of a body of a thousand men ordered to march with the utmost expedition for Barusce, a pretty strong fort, standing at the distance of a day and a half from our encampment, and commanded at that period by an Albanian officer, who was brother to Hassan Pasha.

This Bey had sent word to Cuilla, that he found himself in a most critical situation, being but ill provisioned for some time past, and surrounded by the enemy.

upon almost all sides, and that he should be constrained, if reinforcements and supplies were not sent to him, to abandon the post, advantageous as it was, altogether. Upon which Tossoon Pasha sent off the detachment alluded to, consisting of five hundred cavalry, with an equal number of foot soldiers, of which last I was one, and we began our march in the evening of the very day on which the communication from Barusce was received.

The next night we reached the base of a mountain, which it was necessary to pass over in our way; and the men being much tired and exhausted from the toil of the march, owing to the very broken face of the country which we had traversed, were halted there, and messengers sent forward to the Bey, both to inform him that we

had got thus far, and to inquire in which direction we should make our way to him, to be of the most service, and clear away the Wahabees the most from about him, so that we were waiting in that spot till the morrow for his reply.

But about midnight the Bey's little garrison were pressed so hard by the enemy that they were driven out, and compelled to get by flight to Taifa as they could; and a division of the same force, which became master of Barusce, was directed against us also before day, our advance having been discovered, and our motions closely watched.

We were very ill situated for such an encounter, our position being both low with respect to the ground about it on every side, and very closely hemmed in,

so that there was not space for our cavalry even to form itself; nor could we retaliate with any effect upon those who were occupying the heights, and pouring down their shot upon us from all sides: and even to be killed or wounded in this manner was not all, nor even the worst that we were exposed to, for such amongst us as fell alive into the hands of these cruel fanatics, were wantonly mutilated by the cutting off of their arms and legs, and left to perish in that state; some of whom, in the course of our retreat, I myself actually saw, who had no greater favour to ask than that we would put them to death.

All night long these horrors continued, during which, however, we had contrived to retreat considerably, and were not even

wholly dispersed or in disorder; so that, at daybreak, finding ourselves upon opener and more favourable ground, where the mounted part of our force could act, we halted and formed ourselves, and there debated what would be the best course to follow.

But the consultation did not last long; for it was agreed between the two commanders of our horse and foot that they should separate, and take different courses.

The cavalry accordingly parted from us, and took the way towards Taifa, in the hope of being able to fall in with the Bey, who had been discomfited at Barusce, or at least to cover his retreat from the enemy, if possible; and we ourselves marched on to recover the encampment which we had quitted at Ciulla.

I have before said that this road was very mountainous; and as our assailants were in possession of the heights, they were continually annoying us with great effect.

However, it was in our favour that the passes which we had to traverse rather expanded as we advanced, so that we could observe some order in our retreat, and from time to time take up such positions as were favourable.

In this manner we kept up a sort of running fight with the enemy, so that their pursuit of us, while it cost us many lives, was also very harassing to themselves, and not without considerable loss.

On one occasion, at length, finding ourselves on remarkably advantageous ground, we resolved to turn suddenly upon them, and, by a brisk discharge of musketry, to

do what we could to revenge the blood of our comrades.

This united effort, being unexpected, took great effect, and did almost as much execution among our pursuers as they themselves had done upon our ranks from the very outset: yet they stood their ground very bravely; and such was the impetuosity of their commanders, that the two chief amongst them came so forward, in calling on their men, as to be quite surrounded, and we all rushing instantly upon them in a body, had the good fortune to make both prisoners.

So soon as they had lost their commanders, the spirit of the whole Arab force was broken; and we, on our part, delighted to have made such a prize, pressed forwards with redoubled speed for Cuilla.

Had our body been large enough, and any cavalry still with us, we might have turned round, and marched back upon Barusce, in order to retake it; for the loss of their two leaders could do no less than weaken and dispirit those who had just got possession, and we might very probably have succeeded; but the smallness of our numbers, and the fatigued state of the men, added to the difficulties to be surmounted by the way, and, above all other considerations, our extreme impatience to present our general-in-chief with so fine a capture as the two Arabian chieftains, made us very impatient to get back.

It had now been daylight for some time, and though the distance that still remained before us was considerable, it was determined that we should proceed through

all the heat, in order to arrive the sooner; and being from thenceforward unmolested, and nothing remarkable occurring to impede us, about noon, or soon after, we reached our destination.

All the camp was in a state of repose, but our approach excited a great sensation in it, and afterwards much disappointment, when it was first known how ill the enterprise had succeeded, so far as Barusce was concerned.

Our commander made his report to Tossoon Pasha, informing him, in the first place, how the fort had been lost before we could reach it, and how the cavalry had taken the direction of Taifa, in the hope of falling in with Hassan Pasha's brother in his flight, so as either to enable him, by such a reinforcement, to return

upon Barusce, or, at least, to cover his retreat. The officer finished his recital with an account of our own retreat, and presented to him, at the same time, the two distinguished captives.

At the first part of the intelligence Tossoon Pasha showed every sign of extreme vexation, but commended the course that had been taken by the cavalry, and expressed in the end a high degree of satisfaction at the sight of the prisoners, whose heads he ordered to be publicly struck off, in return for the outrageous cruelties practised upon our comrades.

The spectacle of their execution was immediate and impressive, for the whole of our force was drawn out under arms; and the two victims were led out through the midst of us, during a great silence, the

eyes of all being fixed on them as they passed with the most eager curiosity; and we, who had been their captors and had personally suffered so much, seemed to see, as their heads rolled from their bodies, a sort of compensation for the disaster of Barusce, and the great losses of our detachment upon the road.

We remained stationary in this camp for a long space of time, without any other incident than continual annoyances from Wahabite parties, who suffered not a day to pass without some attempt or skirmish, and often came upon us several times even during the course of the same.

There was, therefore, an absolute necessity for some decisive blow, not only for our present protection, but as the means also of disconcerting some very dangerous

combinations which were forming round us; for undoubted intelligence was received that a project of strict alliance and co-operation was on foot between the Arabs of Barusce and those of Taraba, who had hitherto acted separately and quite without concert; the project being to collect together between them a force amounting to several thousands, and, thus united, to fall upon our camp.

Tossoon had lost no time in communicating this alarming fact to his father, and strongly urged upon him the expediency of giving early effect to his promise, in coming in person to take the command, to which a favourable answer was received; and so soon as it became generally known that Mahomet Ali might certainly and shortly be expected, it seemed to give new

spirits and new life to all the troops, for in active service he has always had the power, to a singular degree, both of commanding their confidence, and of engaging their affections towards him—results which are not less the effect of an open-handed generosity which he has always shown towards those in the army who deserve well of him (a quality that weighs the most, perhaps, of all others with the soldiery of the East) than of his career of uninterrupted success as a general.

I shall reserve the account of his arrival and operations for the succeeding chapter.

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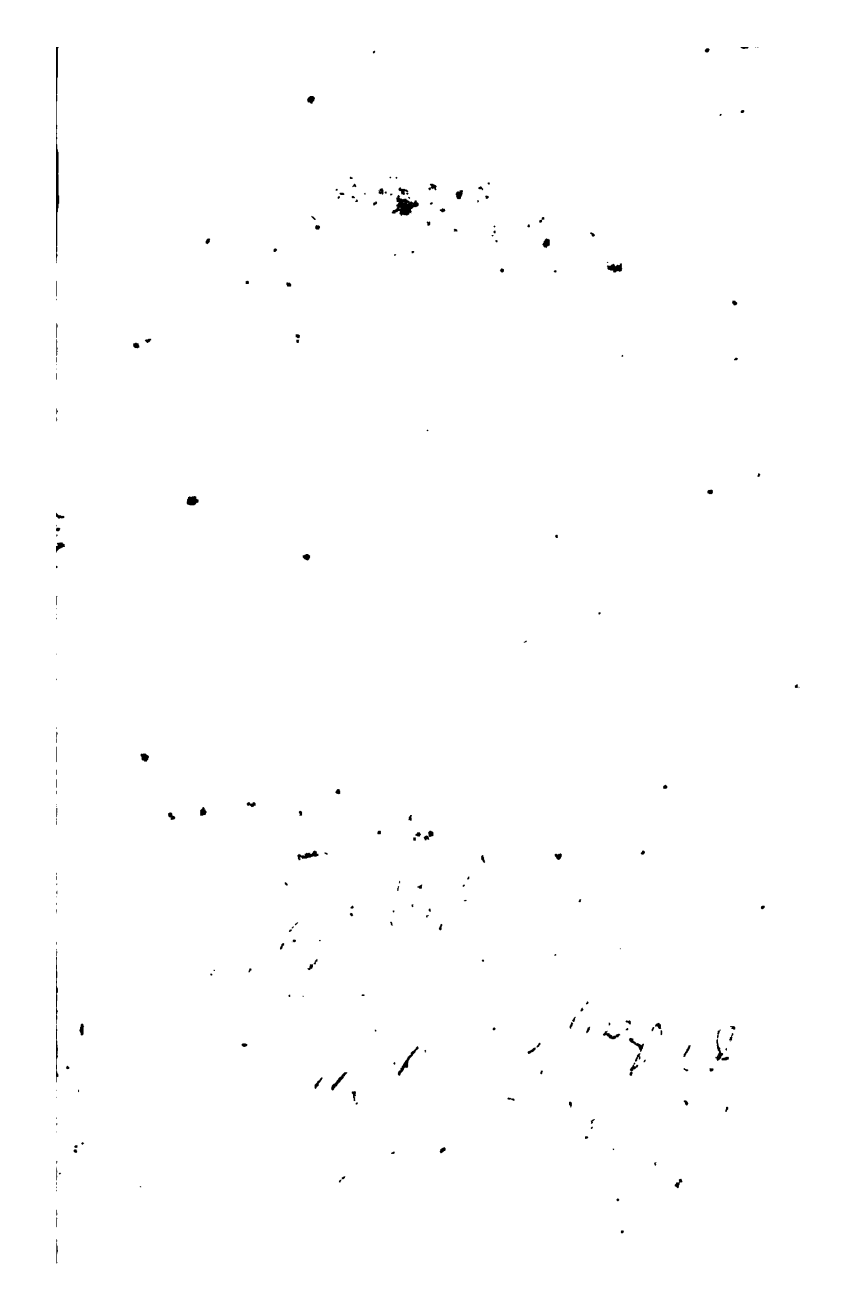

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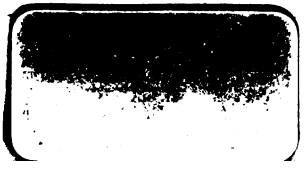
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